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ABSTRACT

This history of the Agriculture Development Council (ADC) consists of eight chapters and four appendices. Chapter 1 traces the early years of the ADC, from its inception in 1953 to 1957, the year of the retirement of the council's first director, J. Lossing Buck. The chapter covers the role of John D. Rockefeller, III, the incorporation of the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs (which later became the ADC), early activities and programs, sources of financial support, and early policies. Chapter 2 describes the organization during the years 1957-1973, while Arthur T. Mosher was executive director, including the use of associates in the field, the council's training materials project, publications activities, guiding principles during the Mosher years, and projects conducted in particular Asian countries during that period. Chapter 8 describes the fellowship program under which 588 men and women from 17 countries studied for advanced degrees with the council's support from 1953 to 1985. Chapter 4 describes the Regional Research and Training program, which was begun in 1970 in 18 countries and which involved individual research grants, inservice training, seminars and workshops, professional exchanges, and publications. Chapter 5 covers research networks among U.S. universities funded through the ADC. Chapter 6 describes the years between 1974 and 1977, when the council was headed by Vernon W. Ruttan. Chapter 7 discusses the organization's activities between Ruttan's departure and Theodore M. Smith's assumption of leadership in 1979. Chapter 8 describes the Smith years, 1979-1985. The document contains 51 references. Lists of trustees, staff, and fellows, a comprehensive ADC publications list, and a statement of the organization's income by year are appended. (CML)

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THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

A HISTORY

By
Russell Stevenson and Virginia O. Locke

Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development

Edited by Denise Felton
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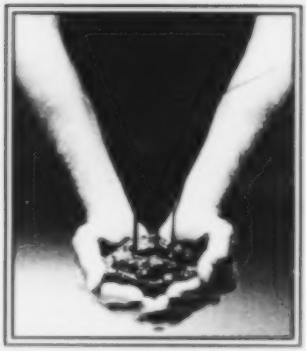

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FOREWORD

The Agricultural Development Council shaped the lives of hundreds of Asians. It approached international development as a cumulative process—it developed talented individuals through education and exposure to cultures other than their own, and those individuals developed their home countries. Through them A/D/C had a profound influence on the Asian countries in which it worked.

Theodore M. Smith, the last president of A/D/C, said the uniqueness of the council's fellowship program lay in its combination of three crucial factors: "a highly discriminating selection process; an active management program, in which Council staff [kept] in close touch with Fellows throughout their entire course of study; and a continuing effort to further Fellows' professional development as their careers evolve[d]."

When A/D/C merged with the International Agricultural Development Service and Winrock International Livestock Research and Training Center in 1985, its work and philosophy became important components of the new organization, Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development. As Winrock grows and changes, we want to be sure that the history of A/D/C and the lessons learned during its 32 years are not lost.

So we have supported and encouraged the development of this book, a record of A/D/C's work. It explains what made A/D/C's approach to development special and enduring. But it is not an objective evaluation; it was never intended to be impartial. It is a description of the organization from the perspectives of two long-term staff members, Russell Stevenson and Virginia O. Locke. And while many members of A/D/C's family contributed ideas and information to the project, the book is a product of Russell and Ginny's personal commitment to telling A/D/C's story and their continuing allegiance to the organization's ideals.

Human resource development, the work that A/D/C pioneered in Asia, is and will continue to be at the core of everything that Winrock International does. A/D/C's concepts and procedures are now integral to Winrock's work throughout the developing world.

Robert D. Havener
President
Winrock International
Institute for Agricultural Development

PREFACE

We had a long association with the Agricultural Development Council and personally were a part of many of its activities, so we had an opportunity to witness first hand the notable and beneficial impact it had on Asia.

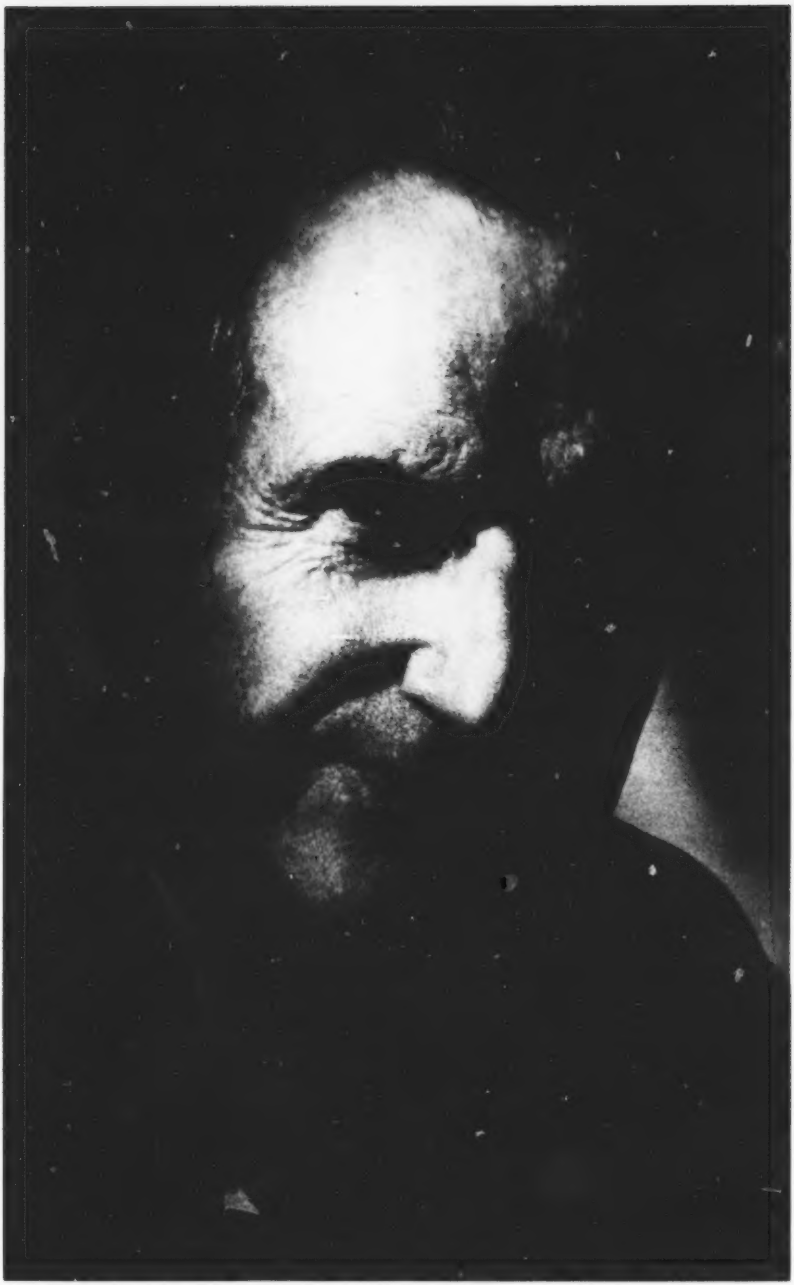
We worked with the council's presidents and the New York supporting staff. We visited the professional staff in Asia and participated in the council's annual staff conferences. We met with government officials and academicians and saw how widely council publications were being circulated and used. We called on many of the council's fellows while they were in graduate school and followed their careers after they returned home. We recorded the discussions of the officers and the trustees as they oversaw programs and debated future courses of action. We thus came to have a deep appreciation of the council and its extended family, and we attempt in this account to chart its accomplishments and convey how, over time, the council won the loyalty and the affection of those who were partners in its work.

We wish to acknowledge the important help we received from a number of former A/D/C colleagues in putting this book together. A. T. Mosher, James Houck, and Bryant Kearl carefully read early drafts of all of the chapters and rewarded us with suggestions and corrections. Walter Falcon and Vernon Ruttan also read most of the drafts and gave us important information we might otherwise have omitted. Grace Tongue was of special help in writing the chapter about the fellowship program and in preparing the list of fellows that appears in appendix B.

To David Nygaard and Robert Havener we owe a special debt: On top of their new duties at Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development, they encouraged the completion of this history and ensured its funding.

We, the authors, assume responsibility for the book in its final form. For errors, omissions, and misjudgments, we are at fault.

Russell Stevenson
Virginia O. Locke



John D. Rockefeller 3rd, 1965. (*Arnold Newman*)

THE EARLY YEARS

This brief history cannot capture the full impact of the council's 32 years of work; A/D/C's accomplishments continue in the work of men and women who once were participants in the council's programs and today are contributing to our understanding of the human and economic problems of agricultural and rural development in Asia.

From its inception in 1953 until it became part of Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development in 1985, A/D/C employed nearly 150 people who, collectively, served 420 years under its aegis. It provided graduate-level fellowship awards to 587 men and women from Asian countries, and it issued more than 350 books, research reports, and other publications, many of which are in use today as teaching and reference materials.

A/D/C did not spring fully formed from the minds of its creators. It took shape over a period of years, tracing its origins most directly to the interests and the persistent efforts of one man, **John D. Rockefeller 3rd.**

ROCKEFELLER'S ROLE

In the early 1950s there were great differences among Asian countries, but certain disturbing conditions were common: political instability, alarming population growth, potentially serious food deficits (particularly in South Asia), and stagnation in industry and agriculture. Rockefeller was especially interested in Asia. He first visited China, Japan, and Korea in 1929. In 1947 he visited the Far East on behalf of the Rockefeller Foundation. As a trustee of the foundation and of the China Medical Board and as a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Policy Association, and the Institute of Pacific Relations, Rockefeller was well aware of the political and economic changes that were sweeping across the continent. Not least

among the changes was the success of Mao's brand of communism in China and the allure that communist thought and promises held for the great mass of tenant farmers and landless laborers elsewhere in Asia. Like many policymakers and analysts in the United States and western Europe, Rockefeller thought the best way to answer such a threat was by attacking the causes of poverty and inducing economic development. Such an approach was implicit in both the Marshall Plan in Europe and in the emerging Point Four Program of technical assistance begun under President Truman.

When Rockefeller resumed his travels after World War II, he became increasingly concerned with two problems besetting Asia: too many people and too little food. This dilemma was not new in the 1950s, but it was not then recognized as the crucial issue it later became.

Early in 1952 Rockefeller returned from a visit to Japan with an agenda for action that continued to expand. He was planning for a new International House in Tokyo (a center to encourage cross-cultural activities between the Japanese and visitors from the West), endeavoring to reactivate the Japan Society in New York (an organization that promotes understanding and cooperation between the Japanese and Americans, particularly within the business community), and preparing for an important conference on population. Through these activities, he found himself confronting a new and insistent concern—Japan's postwar economic difficulties—and his own wish to help in some practical way. Before long, Rockefeller's concern for Japan enlarged to encompass other Asian countries; the emerging focus was on Asian economic development.

To many of those concerned with postwar Japan, it seemed clear that this island nation would have to rebuild its economy through international trade and that, with China cut off from the West and its Asian neighbors following Mao's victory, its trade would be with the countries of Southeast Asia. Japan would trade industrial products for food and raw materials, and its main food import would be rice. Inasmuch as rice was the major food product of most Asian countries, it is not surprising that agriculture assumed an important place in Rockefeller's thinking and planning. (Much of the detail that follows is courtesy of John Harr and Peter Johnson, John D. Rockefeller 3rd's biographers.) Rockefeller's thinking evolved as he consulted with a small circle of friends and advisors—including **Stacy May,** an economist on the staff of the Rockefeller family office, and **Donald H. McLean, Jr.,** a lawyer and personal associate—and culminated in the selection of Asian agriculture as a focus for the new organization.

McLean had joined Rockefeller's staff in 1951 as an associate and legal aide. A graduate of Yale Law School, he had worked on the staff of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, had served in World War

II in the U.S. Army, and had practiced in a private law firm. He was an implementer; he made things happen. He helped establish the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, the Population Council, the International House and the English Language Exploratory Committee in Tokyo, the International Center in Delhi, and the Ramon Magsaysay Awards in the Philippines. In the life of CECA and A/D/C, McLean was at different times chairman of the board of trustees, a trustee, and secretary of the corporation. At all times he remained a loyal supporter and friend of the council.

Rockefeller was motivated not only by his interests in Asia and problems concerning food and population but also by a desire to do something on his own. As chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation, he was instrumental in its achievements in such fields as agriculture; but the foundation, though it bore the family name, was large and impersonal. When it began to appear that a program was needed that would complement the foundation's work in the biological aspects of agriculture, Rockefeller envisioned a program that would focus on human and economic problems at the farm level.

During this formative period, Rockefeller's friend and colleague on the foundation's board, **William I. Myers** of Cornell University, spoke repeatedly of his concern that physical and biological research in agriculture could have only a limited effect. Myers described a need to "put handles on agricultural research," so it could be applied to the Asian farmer's practical problems of management and production.

During the latter half of 1952, Rockefeller and his associates discussed at length the idea that he might sponsor a private-sector program to assist agricultural development in Asia. As 1953 arrived, events moved swiftly. Rockefeller was encouraged to travel to some of the countries in Southeast Asia to gain a more direct, personal understanding of the area and its problems. He also was urged to take with him someone well acquainted with the agriculture of the region, and Myers was an ideal choice. Myers had personal knowledge of the agriculture of many parts of Asia; he was dean of Cornell University's college of agriculture; and he was governor of the Farm Credit Administration in Washington where, according to J. Norman Efferson, he was largely responsible for creating today's efficient U.S. farm-credit system.

Rockefeller and Myers traveled to Asia in February 1953. In 2 months they visited Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Burma, India, and Pakistan, conferring with presidents, prime ministers, cabinet members, opposition political leaders, U.S. ambassadors, academics, agricultural specialists, business people, and journalists.

Among the many notables and experts Rockefeller met on this journey, Harr and Johnson say, none had a greater impact on his

thinking than the brilliant agricultural attaché of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, Wolf Ladejinsky, an expert on prewar Japanese farm tenancy and a key consultant in the development of the Japanese Land Reform Law of 1946. Ladejinsky viewed agriculture and its development as central to the overall economic development not only of Japan but of all the countries of Asia.

From this trip, Myers made several recommendations, including three lines of activity that were immediate and practical: 1) offer fellowships for qualified Asians, the aim being to build up a cadre of specialists trained in agricultural research, education, and extension; 2) make grants to help upgrade Asian agricultural schools and colleges; and 3) develop a program in agricultural economics with an emphasis on farm management.

Rockefeller's eagerness to move ahead on these recommendations did not prevent him from keeping Rockefeller Foundation scientists fully informed of his new endeavors. The program Myers proposed would leave to others the domains of agronomic research and policy-oriented studies, emphasizing instead such fields as farm management, farm finance, and farm-product marketing, matters largely neglected in the assistance programs at the time.

In June 1953 Rockefeller learned that George Harrar and Warren Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation were planning a trip to Asia to investigate the possibility of establishing an international research institute devoted to physical and biological work on rice. Rockefeller and Myers suggested that an agricultural economist join the foundation representatives, not only to add a social science perspective but to discover whether the small organization they had in mind would be welcome in Asia.

J. Norman Efferson, then professor of agricultural economics at Louisiana State University and an expert on rice, was chosen. Efferson had degrees in both agronomy and economics, and he specialized in the cultivation and marketing of rice, a crop as vital to his home state of Louisiana as to the countries of Asia. In 1948 at the request of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Efferson had spent 6 months making an agronomic and economic survey of the rice industry in 11 Asian countries, ranging from Japan and China in the Far East through Southeast Asia to the Indian subcontinent, including India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

After meeting with Rockefeller, Efferson joined Harrar and Weaver on a 2½-month trip, visiting Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, and India. The three men met with political leaders and with agricultural experts in all the major research and educational institutions, surveying diverse agricultural areas and marketing centers. They concluded that an international institute devoted to rice was indeed desirable and feasible and that the best location was at Los

Baños, the home of the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture. (One of Myers' concerns, on his own trip with Rockefeller, had been the possibility of establishing such an institute, and on their return he had recommended that the idea be seriously pursued. The International Rice Research Institute was founded about a decade later under the joint sponsorship of the Rockefeller and Ford foundations.)

For Rockefeller's interests, Efferson (personal communication, 1985) prepared a report that

> ...evaluated the need for rural social science work in Asia, with initial emphasis on agricultural economics, the possibilities and problems in the development of such aid, an overview of the potentials and needs of each of the major countries, a suggested overall program, and detailed budget estimates.

In his report, Efferson included a proposal for expenditures for the program under discussion over its first 5 years. By the fifth year of operation, he projected a total budget of $195,000, about three-quarters of which was to be divided equally among fellowships, direct grants, and pilot projects. The remaining quarter was to cover conferences, the salary of a program leader, travel, and other administrative expenses.

So, three people were largely responsible for the creation of A/D/C: Rockefeller, who conceived it and nurtured it with unflagging interest; Myers, his friend and consultant, who set its tone; and Efferson, a trustee throughout the council's life, who gave its program in agricultural economics design and shape, outlining activities that were to continue through the council's history.

CECA'S INCORPORATION

The Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, which later became A/D/C, was incorporated on November 23, 1953. The purposes were described in its certificate of incorporation as "charitable, scientific, and educational" and "designed to stimulate and support economic and cultural activities important to human welfare." Its headquarters was in New York City.

The name chosen for the organization was so general that almost any activity could be attributed to it. At first the name caused confusion in the field of international assistance; but, although neither Rockefeller nor McLean was entirely happy with it, it suited their purposes. The term *economic* stood, in a sense, for agriculture, and the term *cultural* made it possible to accommodate other broad programs and activities that Rockefeller wanted to undertake.

Chief among these other activities was support for English-language training in Japan. The council funded a survey of the needs and opportunities for such work and then established a program in Tokyo, sponsored by the Japan Society, known first as the English Language Exploratory Committee and eventually as the English Language Education Council. CECA also provided support to the American Universities Field Staff for its work in promoting better understanding of world affairs in the American academic community. Several fellowships were granted in 1954 for Asians' study abroad in fields such as international affairs and music, and other grants were made for art history and industrial design.

As the new organization got under way, Rockefeller was elected president of the council and of its board of trustees. The board included Efferson, **Lloyd W. Elliott, Harold H. Loucks,** Myers, **Frederick Osborn, Douglas W. Overton,** and **Phillips Talbot**. McLean was elected secretary of the council, **John W. F. Neill** treasurer, and **Marguerite H. Kramer** and **Arthur F. McCormack** assistant treasurers. In addition, a committee was formed to oversee the finances of the organization, particularly its investments, which sustained vigorous growth under its direction. This committee was chaired by **John J. Scanlon** and included **Raymond G. Fisher, John D. Lockton,** Neill, and **Charles B. Newton.**

The board appointed **J. Lossing Buck** as the council's first director in September 1954. Buck was an agricultural economist with 25 years of experience at the University of Nanking in China. An authority on farming in China, he wrote *Chinese Farm Economy* and *Land Utilization in China*, a three-volume survey of rural life that was published by the University of Nanking in 1937. He headed the council for 3 years.

EARLY ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS

Within its first year of operation, the council established a modest office in Rockefeller Center. Buck made lengthy trips to countries in Asia to increase his understanding of the region and of the differences that characterized each country (Elizabeth Crawford Parker, personal communication, 1985). His growing acquaintance with key institutions, academic leaders, government specialists, and others teaching and researching in agricultural economics made it possible for him to get the program going right away.

According to CECA's first annual report, the council made 21 grants for fellowships between its incorporation in November 1953 and December 1956. Of these, 17 were in agricultural economics and 4 were in other disciplines. Within agricultural economics, fellows pursued a number of subdisciplines, including agricultural credit, farm

J. Lossing Buck.

finance, farm management, irrigation economics, marketing, production economics, research methods, and statistics. Other fellows specialized in extension education and local government. It was characteristic of the fellowship program from the beginning that diverse professional and academic interests were encouraged and that fellows were placed in university departments where these interests could be accommodated.

Of 21 fellowships granted in India, Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand, 7 were for Ph.D. studies, 6 for master's-level study, 3 for nondegree work, and 5 for travel-study programs. Two of the master's-level fellows were later supported by the council for study toward doctorates.

CECA also supported visiting professors at institutions in Asia. Three colleges of agriculture that had contracts with American universities through the International Cooperation Administration (a U.S. foreign aid agency) requested visiting professors not covered under their contracts. In 1955, **Horst von Oppenfeld** of Cornell University took up residence at the college of agriculture of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños. Von Oppenfeld's first assignment was to help 45 junior-year students with field studies for their undergraduate theses. Although eventually the council's visiting professorships were limited to 2 years, von Oppenfeld's appointment was renewed three times, and he spent a total of 7 years at Los Baños.

Under a similar arrangement, **Grant E. Blanch** of Oregon State University went to the college of agriculture at Kasetsart University in Thailand. As a direct result of Blanch's work and that of a Thai colleague, Kamol Janlekha, an agricultural economics department was established, which was known as the department of agricultural business administration.

A visiting professorship between Washington State University and the Punjab Agricultural College in Pakistan was authorized by the trustees in 1955; however, negotiations broke down because Washington State University demanded an overhead payment that CECA was unwilling to provide. (Throughout the first 10 years of the council's existence, many U.S. universities eagerly expressed interest in international agricultural programs and were quite willing to absorb such overhead costs without reimbursement. As the number of grants increased, however, the practice of including a line item for overhead in contracts for such activities became established.)

Other notable activities within the first 3 years included several grants to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN in farm management and land economics. CECA helped to finance the FAO Center on Land Problems in Asia and the Far East at Bangkok, Thailand, and it assumed a 5-year commitment to support a farm-management expert, whose principal assignments at FAO would

include arranging a series of regional farm-management training centers in Asia.

Early in 1956, the pace of events quickened again. In January **Ardron B. Lewis** joined CECA as its associate director for agricultural economics. Like Buck, Lewis had an extensive background in international agriculture. He met Buck when both were graduate students at Cornell, and in 1933 Lewis took a position as agricultural statistician at the University of Nanking. Lewis took charge of the statistical analysis of data for Buck's book, *Land Utilization in China,* and taught two courses during his 3 years in China.

In his years with the council (1956 to 1968), Lewis played a variety of roles. He assisted first Buck and later Arthur T. Mosher in developing the council's program. For 7 years Lewis administered the rapidly growing fellowship program. Like Buck, he traveled frequently in Asia, increasingly taking special responsibility for council activities in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, and he served as the council's associate in Taiwan from 1965 to 1968.

To his colleagues and to the scores of fellows with whom he worked, Lewis was a consummate teacher. He was instrumental in designing and conducting regional shortcourses in research, which the council sponsored, and he wrote a recipe for such on-the-scene training that lent itself well to use in many Asian countries (Lewis, 1967).

Lewis wanted students to learn to think. He wanted them, by mastering research methods, to come to understand the problems of agricultural development in their own countries, districts, and villages. He was also concerned about the relevance of U.S. university graduate training for Asian students and Asian conditions, and he wrote and spoke frequently on this issue.

In 1956 the council made its first foray into the field of community development. Early that year, the Philippine government asked the college of agriculture at Los Baños to establish the Luzon Training Center for Community Development. At the college's request, CECA made a grant to Cornell University to enable **Robert A. Polson,** then head of the university's department of rural sociology, to undertake a visiting professorship at Los Baños to help establish this center. Polson conducted the center's first training program, which eventually trained 330 workers.

Polson was succeeded at the Luzon center by **A. Lincoln Kelsey,** also of Cornell, who continued to teach and counsel the center's students for 2 years. The council was to remain active in this emerging community-development program in the Philippines for more than a decade.

SOURCES OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The financial support provided by John D. Rockefeller 3rd and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund enabled the council to move quickly into action on the international scene. According to Johnson and Harr, by 1955 Rockefeller had made three gifts to CECA that totaled $1.25 million. He intended, these authors say, to provide a basic budget of $250,000 a year for 5 years. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund granted $300,000 a year for 3 years. Between 1954 and 1961, Rockefeller's actual annual contribution to the council averaged $500,000, permitting a more extensive range of program activities than had been envisioned in Efferson's early recommendations.

This substantial early support led the trustees to invest a large portion of the council's assets in an account called the *principal reserve fund*. This fund was administered by the finance committee and invested primarily in blue-chip common stocks, and it grew at a healthy rate. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, it had a market value in excess of $5.6 million. The interest earned annually by the fund was an important and stable income source throughout much of the council's existence.

The council's actual expenditures from 1953 to 1956 came to a little less than $1 million, allocated as follows:

Fellowships	21%
Visiting professors	19%
Other grants (research projects, books and equipment, etc.)	19%
Regional projects	15%
Cultural grants	13%
Administration	13%

McCormack was a key person in overseeing the council's financial affairs. He was a vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank and at first was a financial advisor to Rockefeller and the council's finance committee. He later became treasurer, and after his retirement from the bank he joined the staff as administrative officer. McCormack's services to the council as investment counselor, treasurer, and administrative officer extended over 25 years, from 1953 to 1978.

POLICIES

As reflected in its articles of incorporation, the council's objectives were a) to give particular emphasis and attention to opportu-

nities in Asia, b) to concentrate on opportunities that had both local utility and potential usefulness in other areas, c) to encourage better understanding and communication among people of different nations, and d) to give special attention to research and the dissemination of knowledge related to improving agriculture.

Over the council's first 3 years, some operational policies and procedures designed to meet these objectives began to emerge. Training was a key ingredient in virtually every grant the council made—not just for fellowships, but also for travel-study, research, visiting-professor assignments, regional centers, and books and equipment for departments and their libraries. The council's primary aim was to strengthen the professional competence of individuals rather than to support institutions directly. Thus, the council's office in New York began to assemble a working library that became increasingly useful as a source of teaching materials. The collection included books, journals, research reports, graduate theses, and field reports.

It was clear in these early years that agricultural economics was to be the topic of primary, though not exclusive, concern. Travel by the professional staff was viewed as an important means of identifying program opportunities and building friendships and trust among a growing circle of Asian colleagues.

The institutions that received grants from the council were encouraged to make matching contributions, such as continuing local salary payments to support a fellow's family or providing living quarters for a visiting professor. The council refrained from making grants or initiating programs that other agencies were equally prepared to handle.

It is a testament to the council's founders that its goals, direction, and style changed so little during its history. When A/D/C merged with the International Agricultural Development Service and Winrock International Livestock Research and Training Center in 1985, thus ending the council's legal status, its work and concerns continued as major components of the program of the new Winrock International.

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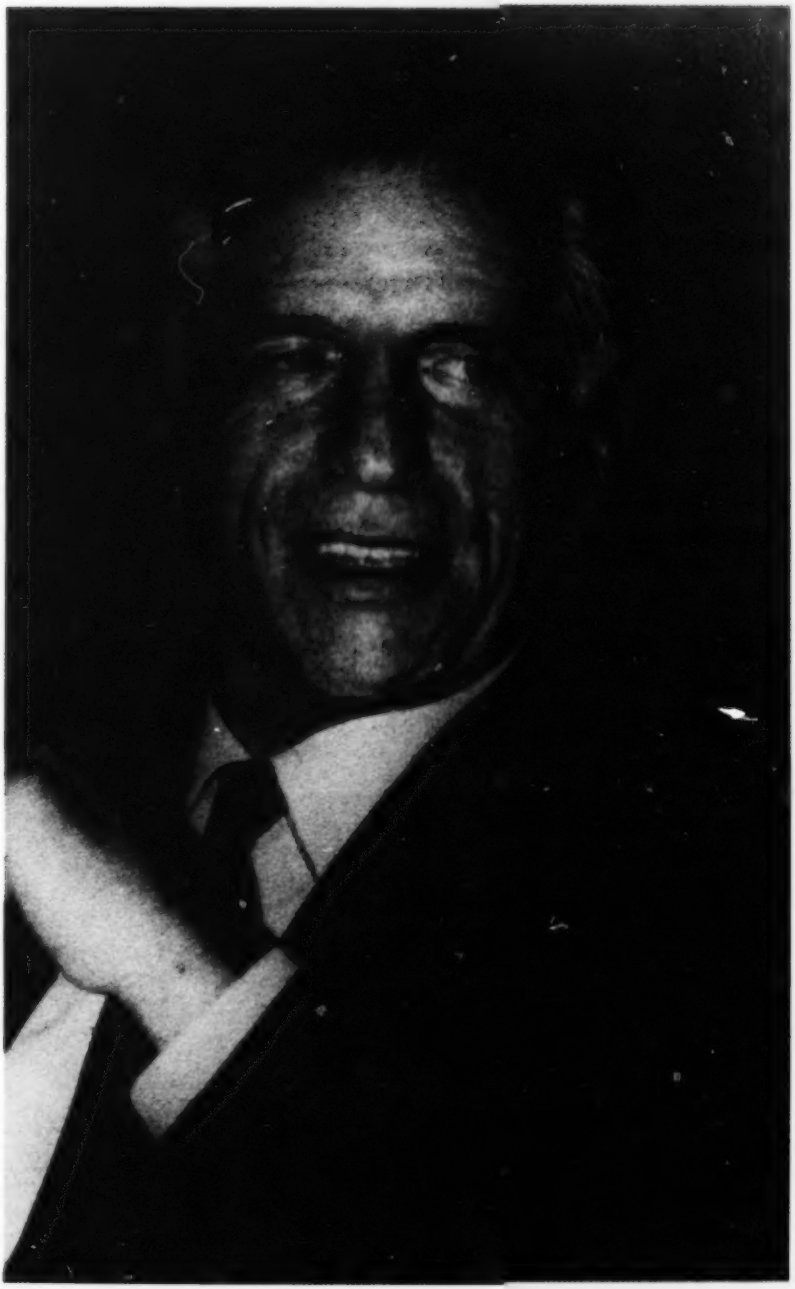


Arthur T. Mosher, 1973.

THE MOSHER ERA
1957 to 1973

By 1957 the council had made a promising start. J. Lossing Buck and Ardron B. Lewis had established contacts in much of Asia. Visiting professors were forming professional links at institutions where they served. A fellowship program was in place. Book and equipment grants were proving a useful means of giving immediate small-scale assistance to selected academic departments. And underlying these efforts was a secure financial base made possible by the gifts of John D. Rockefeller 3rd and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

By mid-1957, Buck had retired. His successor as executive director was **Arthur T. Mosher.** It soon became evident that Mosher was the right person in the right place at the right time. His academic training in agriculture and agricultural engineering was capped by a doctorate in economics from the University of Chicago. His Asian experience spanned 20 years, during which he worked in North India at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute (affiliated with Allahabad University) where he became an instructor in 1933 and later its principal. On returning to the United States in 1953, Mosher was a visiting professor of economic development and cultural change at the University of Chicago. Over 2 years he completed a comprehensive study of technical assistance in Latin American agriculture. The result of the study was a published volume, *Technical Cooperation in Latin American Agriculture* (University of Chicago Press, 1954). Immediately before joining the council, Mosher was developing a special program of training in extension as a visiting professor at Cornell University.

Mosher brought to the council an almost unique combination of training and experience in technical agriculture, economics, and extension. He was an innovator; he brought new dimensions to the programs already under way and a leadership style that set the tone for the small but expanding organization.

THE ASSOCIATE

Mosher's leadership style was best exemplified by the associate concept: a means of placing qualified professionals in the field and giving them the resources they needed to develop appropriate country programs.

Three professional titles were created during Mosher's time: associate, visiting professor, and specialist. Within a country, the associate was the council's preeminent actor. The associate recommended action to the council's president, nominated individuals for fellowships or grants, was the council's link to local institutions and officials, and worked with the president to develop country programs and projects. The visiting professor was generally appointed for 2 years at one educational institution. The specialist, typically a younger person, worked on a specific project or activity.

There was no uniform agenda. As no two associates were alike, so no two country programs were alike. The similarities among programs stemmed from the council's objectives, such as selecting individuals for advanced study, encouraging individual research, arranging professional exchanges, and providing grants to departments in need of books or equipment. But the day-to-day work of the associates differed from country to country.

When Mosher came to the council, it had four visiting professors: A. Lincoln Kelsey, **E. A. Lutz,** and Horst Von Oppenfeld, in the Philippines and **C. V. Plath** in Thailand. All were supported jointly by their home U.S. universities and the council. In Mosher's opinion, this joint sponsorship left lines of responsibility unclear, and the appointment terms of 2 years worked against continuity. He proposed a new arrangement that was better suited to the council's interests; namely, the appointment of individuals who would serve in a country on a long-term basis under the sole support of the council. They were given the title *associate* and the equivalent of tenured status; they had no set term of employment.

Mosher defined the associate role in a 1973 newsletter:

> Council associates are permanent members of the staff, usually resident in Asia, professionally employed in teaching and helping with research in one university location about half time, maintaining contact with professionals in the rural social sciences throughout a region and recommending candidates for fellowships and research grants the other half of their time. Council associates, primarily professional social scientists at work in Asia and secondarily aiding in the formulation of the council's total field program, have become the heart of the council's program and method of operation.

In recruiting associates, Mosher looked for individuals who were professionally competent, could identify budding talent, would be willing to sublimate their own professional needs to encourage Asian

colleagues and students, and were interested in working at the frontier of development.

When he recruited and deployed an associate, Mosher offered very few instructions. In essence, he said to a new associate: Take your time. Learn what you can about the country, its agriculture, its institutions, its people. Build upon the contacts we already have and develop new ones. Explore avenues of service where you can make a significant contribution. And, as you become established and active, the trustees and I will expect you to advise us on program opportunities.

The associate, though often working alone, was not isolated. The staff members were knit together in several ways. Mosher traveled among them for extended periods discussing their programs and ideas and telling them about activities elsewhere. The monthly narrative reports of each associate were circulated to all the staff. Field staff kept in touch through visits with one another, a practice that became more frequent when, later on, the interregional program was functioning.

One of the most effective means of linking this dispersed staff was the annual staff conference. This event brought together staff members and their families at a site in Asia for a week of discussing and planning that created a feeling of family. The agenda for the first staff conference, held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1959, included country reports; reviews of council goals and policies; discussions of the administration of the fellowship program and the need for teaching materials suited to Asian conditions; and suggestions for introducing a training component into council-supported research projects. The annual staff meetings were characterized by free, open, and sometimes heated discussions. Whatever the topic—new program possibilities, research priorities, an increase or decrease in the number of fellowships—it was subject to debate and exploration from many viewpoints.

This pattern of a network of long-term associates worked well for the council. It assured a continuity that was important in developing-country programs. Of the 17 associates who served in the Mosher era, the average length of service was 8.5 years. Alan M. Strout, associate in Indonesia from 1970 to 1974, once commented:

> What I felt to be most important was being able to work with individuals year in and year out. This was in contrast to so much of the technical assistance and other efforts where there is lots of turnover of personnel. They can't get the depth of understanding and personal relationships that A/D/C could.

Others have said they appreciated the flexible and open working environment that was characteristic of the council and of Mosher's leadership.

Participants in the Penang staff meeting, Malaysia, 1961. Left to right, front row: Ardron B. Lewis, Milton L. Barnett, Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., John H. Provinse, Arthur T. Mosher, Ralph H. Allee, Howard W. Beers, J. Price Gittinger, Abraham M. Weisblat. Back row: David H. Penny, Arthur W. Peterson, Charles F. Sarle, J. Norman Efferson, Virginia O. Locke, Douglas W. Overton, Horst Von Oppenfeld, Gordon R. Sitton.

The philosophy and the approach was to develop country capacity in the social sciences as was appropriate and consistent with the capability of the associates and the visiting professors. That meant that, for example, if you were a visiting professor at a university and it was appropriate that you teach a lot of courses, that's what you did. If it was appropriate to work with graduate students on their research, that's what you did. If it was important to stimulate faculty colleagues to undertake research or to publish in journals, that's what you did. If it seemed important to help set up a network of professionals to stimulate ideas, that's what you did. It was an open-ended proposition in a very supportive atmosphere.

—Thomas F. Weaver
Visiting professor, Malaysia
1967 to 1971

The recruitment of associates without personal agendas led to a style of operation that was highly decentralized and humanistic in approach. This approach led to great influence for A/D/C in Asia and to a reservoir of goodwill that still exists. But the outcome was incidental and would not have been achieved to the same degree had it been sought.

—Wayne A. Schutjer
Director, research and training network
1971 to 1972

THE TRAINING MATERIALS PROJECT

Mosher added another dimension to the council's program with the institution of the training materials project. The council's activities in university-based teaching and research and in support of graduate-level training left unmet the training needs of large numbers whose work directly related to agriculture and agricultural development. These were the research and extension workers and others within the ministries of agriculture who either had little technical training or had been trained years earlier and currently had little opportunity for professional growth. Supervising these workers were agricultural officials who themselves needed to keep abreast of what was being learned, particularly outside their own countries. Mosher wanted the council to address this need; thus, the 4-year project was designed to generate materials that would be useful in the in-service training of middle-echelon government agricultural technicians and officials. F. F. Hill of the Ford Foundation shared Mosher's concern; therefore, the foundation funded the project with a 3-year grant.

In 1963, Mosher recruited three individuals to help get the project under way: **Donald G. Green,** who was trained in vocational agriculture and extension education and who had experience in the Philippines and the United States; **Horace C. Holmes,** who had extensive agricultural and rural development experience in the United States

and overseas; and **Conrad Oliven,** a former newspaper reporter who had done graduate work in agricultural journalism at the University of Wisconsin.

They were joined the following year by **Raymond E. Borton,** a Ph.D. in agricultural economics from Montana State University and later the council's associate in the Philippines; **David H. Penny,** an agricultural economist on leave from an A/D/C visiting-professor assignment in Indonesia; and **Herman M. Southworth,** an agricultural economist on leave from Pennsylvania State University and later to become the council's associate in South Korea. Two others who served the project were **Ralph H. Allee,** the council's associate in Bogor, Indonesia, and **Rainer S. Schickele,** who later became the council's associate in Sri Lanka.

A priority for the project's staff was to sift through as much material as possible on the subject of agricultural development and to select items that seemed most useful in their present form. A second task was to write new and easily readable materials that would fill gaps in the literature. A related task was to prepare teaching aids to facilitate the use of the materials in in-service training.

The focus was primarily, but not exclusively, on Asia and Asian agricultural conditions. Materials were also drawn from Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. The work proved to be more difficult than anticipated. As Mosher put the problem in a 1965 review, "The amount of suitable material was very small, while the amount of existing but unsuitable material was very large."

The day-to-day work was akin to an ongoing seminar on agricultural development. Books, journal articles, papers, and reports read by one member of the group were marked and circulated to the others. Original pieces were drafted and revised. And there were endless discussions on whether an item should be used as it was, revised, or cast aside.

To augment the pool of materials, the staff asked persons involved in development for accounts of their experience, case studies, or field reports. As the materials accumulated, the staff found that many were either too technical, referring to a specific aspect of agriculture, or too general, lacking substance. The staff members concluded that they needed a new basic text to which the other readings and case studies would relate.

Mosher wrote this basic book, *Getting Agriculture Moving,* and it was published in 1966. In one 190-page volume, it treated the elements of agriculture, the essentials for achieving development, and steps needed to accelerate the agricultural development process. This easy-to-read text had four companion volumes: *Selected Readings,* two volumes of articles keyed to the chapter headings of *Getting Agriculture Moving,* also published in 1966; *Training Manual,* designed for

group study of the published set of materials; and *Case Studies*, descriptions of 35 studies of specific development projects.

While these were in preparation, three seminars were held in the Philippines and East and West Africa, bringing the staff together with agricultural specialists and administrators to discuss the materials and their possible use in local training programs and to critically review draft chapters of the main text.

The council provided the four volumes to any individual or agency requesting them. The distribution, in response to a strong demand, was worldwide; and the materials were widely used in two ways not anticipated. Higher-level agricultural officials valued *Getting Agriculture Moving* as an outline of important topics and as a statement of their interrelationships. The materials also were frequently used in developing countries and in the West as teaching texts in schools and colleges.

The gem among the published materials was *Getting Agriculture Moving*. The first edition appeared in both hard and soft covers. Within 6 years, 60,000 copies had been distributed. Moreover, the basic, readable style lent itself to translation; versions were produced in Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, Burmese, Chinese, French, Greek, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, Malay, Portuguese, Sinhalese, Spanish, Thai, and a number of Indian languages including Bengali, Kanarese, and Malayalam. The book remained in print in successive editions for the life of the council, and it continues to be widely used.

Two other publications completed the package of training materials. *No Pone Valley* by Horace C. Holmes and *How Progress Came To Huagrapampa* by Anibal Buitron were narrative accounts of the agricultural development process in particular locales.

The training materials project wound down after 4 years, but its publications continued as an integral part of the council's larger publication program.

PUBLICATIONS

From the beginning, the council collected and circulated print material related to its interests. Mosher reinforced and enlarged this activity by setting up a regular publications program. A variety of publications emerged over time: books, monographs, seminar reports, teaching and research forum papers, reprints, annual reports, newsletters, and staff papers. (Appendix C is a list of these publications.)

The publications served two purposes. Through the annual reports and newsletters the council's friends, staff, trustees, fellows and former fellows, and professional colleagues were kept informed

of its activities. More importantly, the publications were a resource for teachers, researchers, and administrators who formed its network in Asia and the United States. Particularly in Asia, the need for printed materials was pressing. At university libraries and within academic departments, books about agriculture and the related social sciences were too expensive to purchase, out of date, or only marginally relevant to local conditions. And books were not the only need. A class discussion was often enhanced by making available to students a relevant paper, reprint, or seminar report.

The council, therefore, wanted not only to publish useful materials but also to make them widely available; so it developed a mailing list that grew each year as individuals and agencies asked to be included. The mailings reached a diverse audience and at their peak went to over 10,000 recipients.

Everyone on the list received mailings about twice a year. A typical mailing consisted of two or three items: the latest newsletter, an A/D/C paper or reprint, and the annual report or the latest directory of fellows. Field staff members maintained inventories of all publications for local distribution. Books and monographs were distributed free to Asians or individuals from developing countries who requested them. For westerners there was a nominal charge, usually the actual cost of publication.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

During the Mosher years a number of guiding principles evolved that influenced all policy decisions (Mosher, 1962; Mosher, 1973):

- Developing people rather than institutions. The council worked with many institutions—colleges and universities and government bureaus and agencies—and it was concerned for their vitality and efficient functioning. But building institutions required resources and long-term commitments that the council could not offer. The council's view was that well-trained and capable individuals build strong institutions. As people become more qualified, they also become more mobile. If training is seen only as a means to strengthen an organization, its value is lost when the trainees move on. But if training is seen as a means of developing individuals, then its value continues as the trainees take their abilities with them to new assignments.
- Functioning as partners. The council did almost nothing alone. To make the most of its modest resources, it formed partnerships. The colleges and universities where council fellows were located composed one set of partners. Research grants often met only part of the

costs involved and required local backup; but the council did not always make partial local support of an activity a condition of A/D/C support, especially where local resources were sparse and council resources were adequate. For example, the Agro-Economic Survey and the Supplemental Program in the Rural Social Sciences, both in Indonesia, were made possible only by combining the council's resources with those of the Ford Foundation.

- Recruiting a diverse staff. The staff recruited during the Mosher years consisted of individuals with degrees in such wide-ranging disciplines as economics, agricultural economics, sociology, rural sociology, education, anthropology, extension, research organization, journalism, political science, general agriculture, and Islamic studies. Such diversity enabled the staff members to draw upon one another's interests and experience and illustrated the value of using different disciplines and varied approaches to better understand agricultural and rural development.
- Recognizing country variations in program development. The activities of council associates in a sample year, 1970, illustrate the point made earlier: as no two associates and no two countries were alike, so no two programs were alike. Bryant E. Kearl and Shao-er Ong were in Bangkok working with other associates to organize intercountry seminars and develop opportunities for graduate study and faculty exchange within Asia. Schickele, in Sri Lanka, completed a report for a special government committee on trained-manpower requirements for agriculture. Southworth was writing a text on agricultural marketing oriented to the problems of a developing economy. In Malaysia, Milton L. Barnett was working on a study of rural clinics for the ministry of health, Thomas F. Weaver was assisting colleagues at the university's faculty of agriculture in developing a curriculum for an M.Sc. degree in agricultural economics, and Albert H. Moseman was serving as the first director of the Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute. Abraham M. Weisblat, Donald C. Taylor, and Borton were primarily occupied in teaching and supervising research in North India, South India, and the Philippines, respectively. Strout, from his base in Jakarta, had completed visits at 11 regional universities to encourage efforts at improving graduate-level training.
- Avoiding direct involvement in planning and policy formulation. Teaching, research, extension, problem identification, and analysis, when well done, lead to better planning and to more effective policies. The council devoted itself to these activities but left the planning to others. Agroeconomic research leads to policy assumptions and is an ingredient in policy formulation. Many of the council's fellows and other Asian colleagues occupied positions that required them to be planners and policy advisors, and they often

turned to council associates or specialists for counsel. Sometimes council staff worked directly with planning agencies; for example, Barnett worked with the evaluation unit of the prime minister's office in Malaysia, and Moseman worked with the Malaysian Agriculture and Research Development Institute. Further, Mosher set down in two of his books some conclusions about planning; however, the council did not view members of its staff specifically as planning consultants.

- Avoiding financing buildings. In general, the council did not finance buildings. It made only three exceptions: In 1957, it made a grant in partial support of the cost of a building to house the in-service training activities of Japan's home economics extension service. Two years later, with the return of increasing numbers of A/D/C fellows to the University of the Philippines, the council made a grant to meet part of the cost of a new wing to the agricultural economics building to provide office space for the expanding department. Similarly, in 1963, with a severe shortage of faculty housing at Los Baños, the council provided funds for the construction of a house to be the property of the university but to be available for occupancy by the A/D/C associate stationed there.

COUNTRY PROGRAMS

The work of the staff members who served in Asia during the Mosher years can best be chronicled country by country. Thus, the following material describes the country programs as they developed in response to local needs and opportunities and as a result of the interests and initiatives of the resident associate, the council's president, and the trustees. Some countries and some staff members are treated more extensively than others. This does not reflect any country's inherent importance but simply its relative importance in the council's program: A/D/C was most active during the Mosher years in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia. Under each country heading are listed the names of the professional field staff members who served in that country during Mosher's presidency and their years of service in that country (tables 1 to 6).

The Philippines

The Philippines, an archipelago of over 7,000 islands with a current population of 56 million, was a center of council interest from the very beginning. Such an interest was not surprising given the strong American and Filipino links that had been formed over nearly

Table 1. Field staff serving under A. T. Mosher in the Philippines.

Name	Years	Name	Years
A. Lincoln Kelsey	1956-1957	Wells M. Allred	1959-1961
Horst Von Oppenfeld	1955-1962	Maurice C. Bond	1962-1963
Robert A. Polson	1956-1957	Milton L. Barnett	1962-1965
E. A. Lutz	1957-1958	Abraham M. Weisblat	1963-1965
Robert B. Fox	1958-1959	Ralph H. Allee	1965-1970
John H. Provinse	1958-1962	Raymond E. Borton	1970-1974

a century of political, military, and commercial interaction. The country, though poor by many measures, was rich in human and physical resources. It had a network of public and private colleges and universities, a high degree of literacy, and widespread use of English.

The council's first action was to appoint Von Oppenfeld in 1955 as a visiting professor of agricultural economics under an arrangement between CECA and Cornell University to work in the rural economics department of the college of agriculture at Los Baños.

Von Oppenfeld's initial task was to supervise 45 students who had completed field studies for their undergraduate theses. The data collected was part of a major study of land use and tenancy conditions conducted for the government's tenancy commission. A subsequent report, "Farm Management, Land Use and Tenancy in the Philippines," made available essential information for planning and teaching. This study raised new questions and led to a related line of research on new production practices and their impact on farm earnings. The resulting 3-year farm-development study was financed jointly by the council and the National Rice and Corn Corporation. Forty farmers, ten in each of four rural communities, cooperated in the study. Von Oppenfeld worked alongside the college field workers, departmental staff, and experts from other government departments. The study,completed in 1961, had two significant outgrowths: two provincial governments made grants to the college to finance similar research, and a program of supervised credit was initiated to provide farmers with production loans.

Von Oppenfeld made a noteworthy contribution to the development of a farm-management syllabus for use by undergraduate students. He collaborated with three faculty members and by 1961, when the syllabus was completed, the farm-management course at Los Baños was judged by the council to be the best then offered in Asia.

As early as 1956 the council diverged from its agricultural economics focus to respond to a request for assistance in the field of community development. Robert A. Polson, head of the rural sociology department at Cornell, was engaged to help establish a community development training center in the Philippines and to assist in conducting the first training program.

Community development as a means of improving the well-being of rural communities was at the time a growing movement. It came alive in the Philippines through the initiative of that country's popular and vigorous president, Ramon Magsaysay, who established the office of the presidential assistant for community development. (The program was placed under a presidential assistant to ensure the cooperation of the various major departments of the government—agriculture and natural resources, health, education, public works—since these departments already had substantial programs in rural development.) The council's definition of community development and its program approach were set forth in a memo circulated for discussion at the Bandung staff conference (Mosher, 1959):

> For our purposes, a community development program is one designed, first, to make rural people aware of ways in which they could improve their level of living through measures available to them and already tested locally; second, to facilitate these changes through technical aid and(or) the provision of needed materials; third, to encourage them to experiment with new ways of production and living; and fourth, to help them organize themselves for group action on common problems.
>
> Within this definition, community development programs need to be different in different countries and even in different regions of the same country. This is due to the differences in the occupations of the people; differences in the crops and livestock farmers produce; differences in the local facilities such as banks, roads, stores, and schools already available; and differences in governmental agencies and in the adequacy of administrative practices.

Mosher suggested three ways in which the council might help strengthen community-development programs. First, it could supplement the activities of existing programs with one or more activities. Second, it could study the problems of community development and try through investigative research to improve the quality and operation of existing programs. Third, it could use a pilot project to demonstrate a pattern for community development.

Polson was joined in 1956 by a Cornell colleague, Kelsey, who was assigned to the Luzon Training Center for Community Development at Los Baños where he advised on course development and teaching methods. Training was critical if the workers were to succeed as coordinators and implementers in a nationwide action program. Within 2 years, the office of the presidential assistant had 1,000 trained workers in the field; 5,854 community projects were working on increased food production, and others concentrated on public works, public health, education, and local government (USOM, 1958).

The appointment of **John H. Provinse** in 1958 as an associate opened the way to study these programs in greater depth. Provinse was an anthropologist and had broad experience in social and anthropological research in agricultural and community services programs. He came to the council from the Ford Foundation, where he had been director for South and Southeast Asian development.

Provinse initiated a study of the causes of rural poverty in the Philippines. This study and subsequent research were conducted as part of the ongoing activities of the University of the Philippines' Community Development Research Council (CDRC), to which he was a consultant. Provinse and his colleagues designed and carried out a nationwide survey based on a large sample of community leaders to determine attitudes toward rural problems and innovations, causes of low income in the agricultural sector, and viewpoints on community action efforts to accelerate agricultural progress.

Provinse not only conducted research but, like all associates, he recommended grants and fellowships, reviewed research applications, helped with CDRC reports, and advised on publications. One facet of research that caught the attention of the CDRC staff was the application of field research techniques in differing local situations. Their discussions stimulated Provinse to write "Western Research Techniques and Non-Western Values," issued as a CECA paper in 1960. This paper was widely circulated.

Others served in the Philippines during the late 1950s as the council's visiting professors. Lutz, assigned to the agricultural economics department at Los Baños, was a specialist in rural government. During his 14 months as a visiting professor he conducted training and research on rural self-government in the Philippines and completed a report, "The Role of Local Government in Philippine Democracy," which the college published. Lutz was succeeded by **Wells M. Allred,** who helped develop legislation for enlarging the powers of barrio councils and conducted research on the response of these councils to their enlarged powers.

Robert B. Fox worked with Provinse as a research associate, and **Maurice C. Bond** was a consultant to the extension program at Los Baños.

The council, in addition to its work with the University of the Philippines at the Los Baños and Diliman campuses, established cooperative links at Silliman University in the southern region of the country in Negros Oriental Province. It made grants to support farm management and marketing studies and to reinforce the university's emerging community-development program.

In January 1962, **Milton L. Barnett** replaced Provinse as associate because Provinse had reached the council's retirement age of 65. Barnett's first link with the council was in early 1960 when he was a member of a joint American/Indonesian working committee that explored the feasibility of a program of pilot projects in community development. Barnett, a cultural anthropologist, was at that time an associate professor at the University of Wisconsin, a position he relinquished when he joined the council 2 years later as associate. Barnett had worked in Latin America and with American Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. His primary professional interests were technical change and innovation. As part of a master's degree program in community development, he eventually conducted a seminar on technological change and culture patterns.

Barnett and his family first established their residence at Los Baños, where a council-assigned house was available. He studied Tagalog and worked as a member of the department of agricultural education, sharing an office with five fellow faculty members. He described the department at that time as a "catch-all," offering courses in education, extension, psychology, sociology, and political science and running a rural high school. During the first year, Barnett maintained contacts with departmental colleagues and with the work of a newly constituted division of social research at the University of the Philippines at Los Baños. The division encouraged and sponsored research at the barrio level, treating the barrio as a social unit and employing a broader research approach than had been the case in the earlier CECA-supported research on local government.

Barnett was increasingly drawn to work in Manila, and the year following his arrival he and his family moved near the Dilliman campus of the University of the Philippines. From this base, he was better able to carry on some of the work begun by Provinse, most notably with CDRC and the office of the presidential assistant for community development. Barnett also took on teaching responsibilities at the University of the Philippines at Diliman and as council associate sought countrywide contacts for identifying potential fellows and research grantees.

One of the problems facing the office of the presidential assistant, particularly in the Los Baños training center, was a shortage of materials about community development for classroom use. To offset this lack and to crystallize the field experiences of the presidential assistant's workers, a small committee was set up to compile, analyze, and edit a variety of case studies. Barnett worked with the committee to outline a range of problems to be covered (for example, different organizational structures and acceptance or rejection of program activities) and identify potential contributors. Their aim was to make available a volume of case studies about the Philippine

Students interview a Filipino farmer.

experience accompanied by interpretive materials.

Where the presidential assistant's program was action oriented, operating through a network in the field, CDRC was a university-based research organization whose purpose was to encourage, support, and conduct interdisciplinary social research in rural development. CDRC was a research resource that drew on the talents of social scientists recruited from university faculties who demonstrated an interest in empirical studies of social change. Barnett, an active participant in the work of CDRC, described its purpose and program in a 1964 paper presented at an Institute of Technology seminar on agricultural productivity sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Barnett's paper reviewed CDRC's origins, its research program, the types of research it undertook, its publication output, and its training activities.

One of Barnett's early initiatives was organizing the Baguio Acculturation Conference devoted to the study of problems of education and development among some of the country's minority ethnic groups. Two such tribes were the Ibaloi in northern Luzon and the Manobo on the island of Mindanao. He later supervised A/D/C research grants for a study of the impact of highway access on the

economy of a village in Mountain Province and a study of social and political factors in village development. His wide range of research interests tied in directly to the courses he taught at the Los Baños and Diliman campuses of the University of the Philippines.

During his 11 years as an associate of the council, in the Philippines and later in Malaysia, Barnett was a goad to the economists and agricultural economists who predominated in the staff, urging them to take account of noneconomic factors that critically affect agricultural and rural development. His concern with social and cultural considerations led to the nomination of council fellows who received advanced training in such fields as rural sociology, extension education, cultural anthropology, rural education, and social psychology.

Abraham M. Weisblat joined the council in 1958 as an executive associate based in New York; in 1963 he moved from the New York office to the Philippines to undertake his first assignment as a field associate. Earlier, with the Ford Foundation, he had spent 2 years in India as research grantee studying agricultural labor productivity. He had also been responsible for evaluating the performance of Ford Foundation research fellows. With Barnett in Manila, Weisblat began work at Los Baños with the faculty and students in the department of agricultural economics.

During the 2 years he lived at Los Baños, Weisblat, whose special interest was land economics, was a working member of the department. His teaching duties centered on the course, "Land Tenure in the Philippines." As the course evolved, he explored the interrelationships of tenure systems and productivity. This course became a staple of the department's graduate program and one that Weisblat continued to teach after his return to New York in 1965 through annual visits to Los Baños.

Weisblat's research followed up on a study that Lewis had initiated on economic land classification in Laguna Province. Weisblat's study included a farm-management analysis by land classes in a lowland-rice region and a study of farm labor. He also took the lead in building cooperative-research arrangements between the department at Los Baños and those of other colleges of agriculture in the Philippines. One such study on farm and market prices was conducted with researchers from the Mindanao Agricultural College and the Samar Institute of Technology on Leyte.

Weisblat and his colleagues were concerned with strengthening the department of agricultural economics in several areas: There was a shortage of well-trained staff. Individuals were being drawn to positions in government agencies and commercial fields to the detriment, especially, of the emerging graduate program. One way to reduce the shortage was to make use of visiting professors from outside the department; a surer though longer-term solution was to

provide advanced training for promising young instructors. In this regard, the council offered important assistance through its fellowship program. An increasing number of fellows were supported in graduate programs abroad, and upon their return to Los Baños they gave the department much of the teaching and research talent it needed.

The department also needed to review and upgrade course offerings and to develop a more effective training program for teachers who would later serve in other colleges of agriculture. In December 1964, on Weisblat's initiative, A/D/C sponsored a conference on teaching agricultural economics that brought together 21 delegates from 11 Philippine colleges of agriculture. The conference gave many of the participants their first opportunity to discuss a range of problems common to all: the scarcity of trained agricultural economists, the question of what to include in the basic agricultural economics curriculum, and the need to maintain professional growth and facilitate communication with one another despite their isolation. Ways to strengthen cooperative research projects and to provide more effective staff training were also discussed.

In 1965, the council allied itself with a new program in the Philippines that combined training and action. The program was tied directly to development efforts at the provincial level and originated in southeastern Luzon in an area known as the Bicol. The governors of six provinces and the mayors of two cities organized the Bicol Development Planning Board. At their request, the council assigned Allee to work with them as a participating consultant.

From 1960 to 1964, Allee had been a council associate in Indonesia and, before moving to the Philippines, he had worked with the training materials staff in New York. Allee brought a wealth of experience to the Bicol assignment. He began his international career under the Near East Foundation with assignments in Turkey and Greece. Later he was on the staff of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations within the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and for 15 years he was the director of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica. In Indonesia under A/D/C he was a specialist in community development and extension.

In the largely agricultural region of the Bicol, agricultural development is a first priority. Allee's task was to work with the cooperating governors and mayors and their staffs to coordinate the many development projects already under way, most of them sponsored by agencies of the national government. In support of these projects and new ones that emerged, training for the agency technicians was essential. Research, too, was required to make it possible to evaluate projects and their impact on the farmers and villagers.

As a first step, Allee arranged for a 1-month seminar for 45 people from the agencies working in the region. The participants studied the general requirements for agricultural development and assessed the resources of the Bicol. Four projects were selected for research and immediate implementation. As projects got under way, Allee spent most of his time designing in-service training for the technicians involved. The training materials that were generated to supplement the course work used an important resource, the materials produced by the council's training materials project in New York; but even these were of only limited help. Materials were needed that were specific to the Philippines. Thus, over the next several years Allee and his fellow trainers built up an impressive collection of relevant field reports, case studies, research findings, and special papers that were made available in the Bicol board's office and used in the training courses.

Allee's home base was the office of rural education on the Los Baños campus. With a direct link to the college, he was able to interest its staff in the Bicol board's ongoing work and persuade it to undertake research in the Bicol and help with in-service training.

Training was but one part of the board's effort. In a 1967 report, Allee (field report, 1967) summarized its activities:

> Detailed recommendations were adopted defining regional problems and preparing project studies that include work on transportation facilities, agricultural and natural resources, industrialization, water resource development, watershed management, tourism, cottage industries, and finances.

Projects undertaken by the board received reinforcement in staffing and funding from outside the region. Interest and support came from national agencies, the office of the presidential assistant, private companies, the U.S. Peace Corps and USAID, civic organizations (Rotary, Chambers of Commerce), and private agencies such as A/D/C and the International Rice Research Institute.

The council's involvement in the Bicol training and action program had a precedent. Allee, as a participating consultant and council associate, had functioned similarly in Indonesia where he worked directly with the staff of the extension bureau and later with the Central Java Food Board. This intimate participation foreshadowed the work of Bill Collier as a participating consultant to the Indonesian Agro-Economic Survey and the Rural Dynamics Project.

Although Allee was based at Los Baños, his work was primarily off campus. Barnett and Weisblat had by this time left the Philippines for other council assignments. By 1970, the department of agricultural economics had been without a resident council associate for 5 years. The need for a council representative was pressing, especially because the interregional program was under way and an increasing

number of students, many of them supported under the council's Asian fellowship program, were enrolling in the department's master's-degree program at Los Baños.

The council assigned Borton as associate and as a visiting professor in the department. Before coming to the Philippines in January 1970, Borton was a member of the training materials staff in New York and had been assigned to Ethiopia under the Stanford Research Institute. Over the next 4 years, his work at Los Baños combined four sets of activities.

He assumed a full teaching load, handling a number of courses in the department of agricultural economics at the undergraduate and graduate levels. His courses included land-resource economics, world agriculture, agriculture in economic development, and food and nutrition economics. This last course was new, contributing to the effort of several departments to develop a graduate program in food and nutrition. In an early field report, Borton noted some steps that were taken to strengthen the work of the department: the appointment of a permanent head, Jesus Santa Iglesia, a former council fellow; the return of two faculty members who had completed study abroad; the return of a Cornell contract professor, Larry Darrah, to bolster the marketing program; the appointment of a visiting professor sponsored by the Southeast Asian Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture; and assistance with several of the main graduate courses by instructors on loan from the Diliman campus in Manila.

Borton also assumed responsibility for the increasing number of foreign graduate students, many of whom were enrolled in master's-degree programs under the aegis of the council's Asian fellowship program. By 1972, the council had 13 fellows in the Philippines enrolled in graduate programs at Los Baños and Diliman and at Ateneo University. The number increased each year, and by the time Borton departed in 1974 there were over 20. As foreign students in a new environment, they needed counseling and practical help of many kinds: help with housing arrangements, family and financial concerns, and dissertation research; advice on course selection; and discussion of their academic and career aspirations.

Another of Borton's responsibilities, also related to the interregional program, was as a consultant and facilitator for the Asian office as its network of activities touched the Philippines. The council's Asian office relied on country representatives like Borton to help identify participants for seminars and workshops, to serve on the selection committee for the Asian fellowship program, and to nominate individuals for research grants or for professional exchanges.

Borton was particularly effective in reinforcing council links with the large number of provincial colleges of agriculture throughout the

country. He set aside time to visit many of these colleges and actively participated in an organization designed to promote cooperation among them in teaching and research. In 1963, 18 institutions formed the Association of Colleges of Agriculture in the Philippines. Weisblat played a key role in organizing the association.

At Borton's suggestion, the council approved a series of grants. An early grant supported a 4-day conference at Xavier University in Cagayan de Oro to discuss teaching materials and course outlines and to plan collaborative research projects. Another grant supported drafting a new syllabus for teaching farm management. This draft, later revised and supplemented with case studies, was made available countrywide. Borton himself, in cooperation with the association, undertook a study of women enrolled in degree programs in agriculture and the reasons for the high dropout rate among them.

Indonesia

Table 2. Field staff serving under A. T. Mosher in Indonesia.

Name	Years	Name	Years
David H. Penny	1958-1962	Edward H. Ward	1968-1970
	1964-1965	William L. Collier	1968-1982
Howard W. Beers	1959-1966	Alan M. Strout	1970-1974
Raymond E. Fort	1960-1961	Donald C. Taylor	1972-1973
Ralph H. Allee	1960-1964	John Duewel	1972-1975
J. Price Gittinger	1961-1965		

Mosher first traveled to Indonesia in the spring of 1957 to explore program possibilities for the council. It was a challenging time in that newly independent nation, freed only in 1949 from Dutch sovereignty. The national government faced enormous problems. Indonesia is an archipelago of more than 3,000 islands, and its current population of 170 million is exceeded by only four other countries in the world. Its people, representing a variety of languages, religions, and ethnic backgrounds, had strong regional interests not easily set aside in the cause of national unity. The nation's economy, if it were to develop, had to overcome poor transportation and communication, a retarded agriculture and industry, and a severe shortage of trained people, not least in the fields related to agriculture.

In his report of that trip, Mosher wrote of visits to Jakarta, Bogor, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Semarang on the main island of Java. He also traveled to Timor, the easternmost island. He was impressed by the country's great physical potential, mentioning, for example, that agriculturally rich Java could produce on its volcanic, irrigated soils three crops of rice in 13 months. He also saw that Indonesia at that time was being discovered by many other agencies anxious to assist in development activities. The question for the council was where it might make its most significant contribution.

The first CECA person appointed for work in Indonesia was Penny, an Australian who was completing a doctoral program in agricultural economics at Cornell when he accepted an assignment as a visiting professor at the faculty of agriculture of the University of North Sumatra at Medan. He had taught economics at the University of Adelaide, and for 2 years he had worked as an agricultural economist with the South Australian Department of Agriculture.

When Penny arrived in 1958, the faculty had been in existence for only 2 years. The council was asked to help develop an academic and research program to serve the region. Penny was soon teaching and supervising field studies. His own research focused on the transition from subsistence to commercial family farming. The data generated during his 4 years in Medan were the basis of his later doctoral dissertation at Cornell.

Indonesia and the Philippines were the two countries where Mosher proposed, in discussions with the trustees, to initiate activities in support of community-development programs. Provinse already was at work in the Philippines as the first associate in community development; **Howard W. Beers** accepted a similar appointment to Indonesia in 1959.

Beers began work in Indonesia following a distinguished career as a rural sociologist in the United States. He had taught at Cornell, Washington State University, and the University of Wisconsin, and he was head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology at the University of Kentucky. His earlier overseas assignments had taken him to Greece, western Europe, and India.

At the time, interest in community development in Indonesia was strong (Mosher, 1959):

> Indonesia is a long step behind the Philippines in that the government is still debating what kind of a program the country should have and how it should be organized...Indonesia does have extension programs of some years' standing, operated by different bureaus and ministries. These are long on organization and very short on teaching methods.

Mosher was looking for a mature, experienced person who would begin by becoming familiar with the current situation and working directly with field agents in the extension service. In working with these agents, other contacts would open up, making it possible to appraise the contending ideas that were emerging as the government determined the course of its community-development programs. The council would decide later how and where to expand its activities.

Beers, who had been directly involved in training a group of Indonesian extension specialists studying at Kentucky, was assigned to Bogor, where he was a visiting professor of community development and rural sociology. He worked with the faculty, supporting its teaching and research, and traveled to some of the regional universi-

ties to offer similar assistance. In this initial period, Barnett joined Beers as a short-term consultant. Together they took part in a preliminary study, funded by a Ford Foundation grant, of the feasibility of pilot projects to be undertaken by the government's Community Development Administration.

In several of his field reports, Beers referred to the problem of finding illustrated Indonesian data to buttress his teaching of sociological concepts. He tried to make abstractions concrete by using descriptions of villages prepared by students or teaching assistants. His aim was to demonstrate how a village case could be used to make real an abstraction such as social integration. Beers also encouraged those engaged in village research to adopt a schedule technique that would provide uniform data in such key fields as family composition, division of family labor, community participation, and agricultural practices.

Late in 1960, Allee joined Beers at Bogor as a second associate for community development. As Beers was drawn more and more into the teaching and research of the university's socioeconomics department, Allee worked with the extension service, helping to design training courses and generate training materials.

An important event in Indonesia, in November 1961, was the 3-week National Training Center in Agricultural Development. Both Beers and Allee helped organize and conduct this working conference, which brought together 42 participants from 7 government agencies and 14 foreign specialists. Among the outsiders were two other council representatives, Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., from Malaysia and Penny from Medan. Penny lectured in Bahasa, the Indonesian language.

The working conference consisted of lectures, workshops, and extended field trips that gave the participants research experience and taught them how to study a problem carefully before reaching policy conclusions. Beers (field report, 1961) said he felt the purpose of "learning by experience" had been met:

> The group was aware at the end of its work of the importance of defining a problem clearly, organizing hypotheses, recognizing limits in planning, and the techniques of pretesting, field editing, coding, tabulating, and other research routines.

Allee established working links with the extension bureau, which was in a unique position to stimulate agricultural development in West Java. The bureau's tasks were many: to upgrade the competence of the service agencies operating under the Ministry of Agriculture, to help establish improved cropping practices, to strengthen research and training facilities, and to improve the management of rural cooperatives.

John D. Rockefeller 3rd visits Bogor, Indonesia, on behalf of A/D/C, 1960.

One of Allee's projects was to introduce rice/corn/soybean rotation in 45 villages. In one progressive village, Allee reported, a corn dryer was developed, plans were laid for a 2-year cropping system, credit was secured to purchase seed and fertilizer, and farmers began for the first time to keep records.

During his final year in Indonesia, Allee was a participating consultant to the Central Java Food Board. This multiagency organization was set up to improve public nutrition. Specialists from the fields of nutrition and health, crop and livestock production, inland fisheries, education, and extension joined in support of the food board's action agenda. They undertook research on food habits, promoted disease-control measures for village poultry flocks, and established centers in rural areas to train teachers in food preparation and gardening.

Raymond E. Fort, who had experience in India and Iran, was appointed specialist to Indonesia in 1960. After only a few months, he was moved to Afghanistan. He spent close to a year there, exploring the possibilities for an A/D/C program; however, the council found that circumstances in Afghanistan at that time were not promising enough to warrant a program.

Early in 1963, **J. Price Gittinger** arrived at Bogor as the council's first Indonesian associate in agricultural economics. Gittinger had worked in the New York office for 2 years developing teaching and training materials in agricultural economics and rural development for use in Asia, an activity that predated the training materials project. Earlier he had worked in South Vietnam for 4 years under the International Cooperation Administration, allied to the Ministry of Agriculture's statistical branch and in close touch with the government's land-reform program.

Gittinger was assigned to the socioeconomics department of the Institut Pertanian Bogor as a visiting professor. He did some teaching, but his primary task was to help develop a more rigorous research program. He and faculty colleagues initiated three lines of research: 1) a study of the flow of credit and the relative value of different sources of credit available in West Java villages; 2) a study of rice-marketing patterns and seasonal or geographic pricing differentials; and 3) a long-term study of capital formation. The third study continued for some years after Gittinger's departure as a major research interest of council fellow Achmad Soeharjo.

At the end of his stay in Indonesia, Gittinger (field report, 1965) expressed some thoughts about his work that would likely have been echoed by other council staff:

> My 2½ years in Bogor have not led to as much research as I would have hoped. I have been disappointed with the last year, especially…I had little impact on the teaching program. The number of contact hours is too low, the number of subjects too large, and the amount of reading is inadequate for a university-level institution. I also regret that I was unable to reach out to other institutions.

From 1965 to 1968, the council had no staff in Indonesia. This hiatus paralleled a time of political unrest in the country that led eventually to the overthrow of President Sukarno and his replacement by General Suharto.

The year 1965 marked the beginning of the Agro-Economic Survey (AES), one of the most intensive and long-running research programs anywhere in Asia. AES was sponsored and directed by Indonesians and received major funding from the Ford Foundation. Dr. Sajogyo of the Institut Pertanian Bogor gave outstanding leadership to it during its first decade.

The council became directly involved in this program in 1968 with the appointment of **William L. Collier** as a participating consultant. Collier had been a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer in Malaysia, then completed a doctoral program in agricultural economics at the University of Hawaii. His 14 years of work in Indonesia from 1968 to 1982 constituted the longest period served by any council staff member in Asia.

Collier became fluent in Bahasa Indonesia; he crisscrossed the country untiringly in his work with the AES research and training projects. Similarly, he reinforced the work of the Rural Dynamics Survey, which was launched in 1975 as an offshoot of AES.

According to Mosher (A/D/C, 1973),

> The AES was not a single survey but an institutional form within which a number of individual sample surveys were undertaken to collect and interpret information desired by one or another government agency in its planning for agricultural development. The AES activities were under the overall direction of an interministerial committee of the government. The survey developed an ingenious approach. Short of research personnel, and with university salaries so low that most every faculty member had to "moonlight," the Director, Sajogyo, devised a pattern of research by part-time teams made up of members of university faculties and of the staffs of government agencies. The participating researchers received supplementary honoraria for their work. He also introduced a substantial in-service training program whereby individuals with little or no previous research experience could be included in teams together with experienced researchers.

Collier and his AES colleagues, including researchers from many regional universities, explored a countrywide range of subjects. Two of the initial studies continued as perennial fixtures on AES's research agenda. One was a study of factors that either facilitate or impede the adoption of the new rice varieties and practices. The second was a survey of production and marketing problems for major export crops in different regions. Other problems studied within the AES framework included smallholder sugarcane production, land-reform evaluation for Java and Bali, agricultural development in ebb and flow tidal-irrigation areas, and interregional analysis of optimal resource allocation for economic development.

In a typical year, 1971, Collier helped to conduct 13 training workshops attended by more than 150 university staff members and students. Such 1- to 3-week workshops helped trainees improve their research skills as they were led, step by step, through the research process of field interviews, data analysis, and report writing. AES, and later the Rural Dynamics Survey, fulfilled some important functions: It carried out significant research on national agricultural problems, it provided vital information to policymakers, and it trained university staff in conducting economic and social research.

The quest of the Rural Dynamics Survey (RDS) was to determine not only what was going on in rural areas but why things were happening, especially changes in the complex web of human and economic relationships. The main feature of RDS was an ambitious series of studies that took place over several years and examined rural change. The plan was to make extensive surveys in as many as 100 villages, followed by a more intensive study of a smaller number.

Those most directly involved were Birowo of Institut Pertanian Bogor, former council fellow Rudy Sinaga, Collier, and Benjamin N. F. White, who joined the council in 1975.

In his later years as an associate, Collier did more for the council's program than fulfill his AES and RDS duties. He identified fellowship candidates; he recommended research grants that, when approved, he monitored; and he established links for the council with many of the regional universities and government agencies related to agricultural and rural development.

In 1968, **Edward H. Ward** of Montana State University joined Collier at Bogor to begin a 2-year appointment as a visiting professor in the socioeconomics department of Institut Pertanian Bogor. Ward had worked in Indonesia some years earlier as a visiting professor of agricultural economics at Gadja Mada University under USAID support. He and his family settled into the life and work at Bogor with little difficulty; in fact, by the end of the first year he was lecturing in Bahasa Indonesia in the statistics course.

Ward made solid contributions to the department through his teaching and his help with staff development. He took a special interest in those who were scheduled to go abroad for graduate work; he and his wife set aside time to tutor such individuals in math and English. The two courses that claimed most of Ward's attention were microeconomic theory and research methods.

In connection with his visits to some of the regional universities, Ward worked with the officers of the newly formed Agricultural Economics Association of Indonesia as they prepared for their first formal conference in Sumatra in February 1970. The council provided funding for several of the special studies that were presented at that meeting.

Alan M. Strout arrived in Jakarta in January 1970, the first associate for Indonesia since Gittinger's departure 5 years earlier. Complementing the council's work at Bogor, Strout lived in Jakarta and was affiliated with the University of Indonesia as a visiting research professor of economics.

Strout occupied himself with three equally important activities during his first year. He conducted a year-long seminar for university staff, "Use and Misuse of Economic Models," and advised on research material generated by the seminar. He taught a course on econometrics. To learn more about the country and to get a clearer idea of where and how the council might contribute, he visited 15 provincial universities, including some in the far north of Sulawesi and Sumatra and in remote areas of Kalimantan in Borneo. Third, he established contact with a circle of government officials and the heads of development agencies to enlist their support of an expanded A/D/C program. These included officials in the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of

Agriculture, BAPPENAS (the national planning agency), the Ford Foundation, and USAID. In January 1971, Strout circulated among Indonesian colleagues and donor agencies a paper, "The State of the Rural Social Sciences in Indonesia." In the paper, Strout discussed the demand for rural social scientists, the current supply of such scientists in Indonesia, the gaps in existing programs for training, and public-service employment of rural social scientists. He concluded by proposing a 5-year program that was organized and carried out as the Supplemental Program in the Rural Social Sciences. The word *supplemental* emphasized the fact that the program was being added to programs already in progress.

Strout was unstinting in managing the supplemental program's package of activities, which he defined on one occasion as a "gigantic talent-scouting operation." He was joined in 1972 by **John Duewel** who made an important contribution to the supplemental program as a participating consultant.

The supplemental program had a distinguished Indonesian advisory board and the cooperation of the Indonesian Directorate General of Higher Education. The following is a summary of its activities (A/D/C, 1976):

- Domestic nondegree training. Domestic training centered on a core of postgraduate workshops that were conducted annually at two institutions, Gadjah Mada University and Institut Pertanian Bogor. The workshops varied in length from 4 to 10 months. During 1975, for example, they provided 473 person-months of training for 61 participants, primarily university lecturers and government officials from different regions. The workshops combined theoretical instruction in several disciplines with a strong emphasis on applied research. They also were a mechanism for identifying and preparing candidates for further advanced-degree training.
- New domestic graduate programs. Partly as a result of the workshops, Gadjah Mada and Bogor universities developed formal graduate-degree programs in the fields of economics, agricultural economics, rural sociology, and agricultural extension. These new programs provided an alternative to foreign graduate training, particularly at the master's-degree level.
- Visiting research specialists. A/D/C had hoped to build an Indonesian model similar to the long-standing Foreign Area Fellowship Program of the U.S. Social Science Research Council, whereby doctoral candidates were supported for extended periods of dissertation research in a second country. Under the supplemental program, a number of American or European social scientists would be recruited who had completed all but the dissertation in their doctoral programs, who had a working knowledge of the Indonesian language, and who wished to conduct their research in Indonesia.

Under the program's formula, candidates would receive full support for 2 years at regional universities, where they would combine teaching and research. Two specialists were appointed: **Virgi Tomasek,** an anthropology candidate from the University of Wisconsin, who was posted to Lambung Mangkurat University in South Kalimantan; and **Johannes Palte,** a doctoral student in social geography at the University of Utrecht in Holland, who was assigned to Brawijaya University in East Java. Tomasek left the program after 1 year; Palte worked at Brawijaya for 2 1/2 years and made important contributions in both teaching and research. Other appointments did not materialize because of difficulties in recruitment and funding.

- Advanced-training candidates. The supplemental program became a mechanism to make opportunities for graduate study more widely available. The program itself allocated funds for support of a limited number of fellows, primarily through the council's Asian fellowship program. Other support came from the Ford Foundation and USAID. Some individuals studying abroad under other auspices received supplementary stipends to support accompanying spouses. The program also funded short-term English-language study awards to help prepare individuals for later study abroad.
- Continuation. Major funding for the supplemental program came from the Ford Foundation. An initial grant of $210,500 was followed 2 years later by a grant of $275,000. A/D/C contributed personnel and funds. Others who contributed to the financing were the Indonesian Ministry of Education, USAID, and the Rockefeller Foundation. By 1976, final steps had been taken to institutionalize the program as the Indonesian Social Science Foundation operating under government auspices.

In 1972, **Donald C. Taylor** completed a 3-year assignment as a council visiting professor at Mysore University in South India and moved to Indonesia as an associate in the socioeconomics department at Bogor. He assumed a full teaching load, including a year-long research-methods workshop. He introduced his students to the use of *sorting strips* as a tool for processing and analyzing farm data and completed a monograph published by the council in 1974, *Using Sorting Strips to Process and Analyze Data.* Sorting strips, prepared by hand by the researcher, displayed data in a way that made visual comparison possible. They were an easy, convenient, and inexpensive tool and highly appropriate in Asia, where few had access to hand calculators or computers. Lewis and Southworth had used them in their workshops in Korea and Taiwan years earlier.

Taylor worked with departmental colleagues to upgrade the graduate programs at Institut Pertanian Bogor, primarily by establishing a number of courses as a recognized minimum for the graduate

students. The institute shared with many other universities in Indonesia concerns that their B.Sc. and M.Sc. programs should be built on a rigorous course structure, staff training should be enhanced, and better ways should be found to develop and exchange teaching materials.

During his 2 years in Indonesia, Taylor continued his major research interest in gravity-flow irrigation systems and their management. He began a study of farmers benefiting from the Pakalen Sampean Irrigation Project in East Java and of the water charges being assessed. He collaborated in much of his irrigation research with Tom and Gekee Wickham of the International Rice Research Institute, and on one occasion the three conducted a study tour of irrigation projects for staff of the institute, Satya Wacana University, and the departments of agriculture and public works. A seminar was later held in Jakarta to discuss water-management problems. Taylor also took the leadership in an interregional conference of the regional research and training program that dealt with the human side of water management, particularly the need to organize for equitable control and use of water resources.

Thailand

Table 3. Field staff serving under A. T. Mosher in Thailand.

Name	Years	Name	Years
Grant E. Blanch	1955-1957	Milton M. Snodgrass	1964-1966
C. V. Plath	1957-1959	Milton L. Barnett	1964-1969
Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.	1957-1964	A. Russell Stevenson	1969-1970
Gordon R. Sitton	1959-1962	Bryant E. Kearl	1970-1971
George B. Davis	1962	Shao-er Ong	1970-1977
Melvin W. Wagner	1963-1968		

CECA established early links with Thailand. It joined with Oregon State University in 1955 to appoint Grant E. Blanch as visiting professor of agricultural economics in Kasetsart University's college of agriculture. At that time, the college did not have a department of agricultural economics but was planning to establish one. When the department was formed—as the department of business administration—it had three Thai professors, each with a Ph.D. from an American university. Blanch worked with them, teaching and assisting B.Sc. students with their undergraduate theses. He also assisted the Ministry of Agriculture with research projects.

Plath replaced Blanch in 1957. Under a similar arrangement between CECA and Oregon State, he worked within the new department, teaching and helping develop the agricultural economics curriculum. By then, Kasetsart had a department of agricultural economics, a unit of a new faculty of economics and business administration.

Gordon R. Sitton was appointed visiting professor of farm management in 1959. He replaced Plath, and for the next 3 years he taught, supervised research, and expanded CECA-supported activities in Thailand. With **Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.**, who was the associate for Thailand, Sitton identified promising fellowship candidates and, between 1959 and 1962, got CECA graduate fellowships for 10 of them. Sitton also encouraged research by Thai colleagues at Kasetsart and at the Ministry of Agriculture. CECA funded a number of small research projects, including several grants to support research assistants working in the department, to support an analysis of production and marketing problems affecting the expansion of corn production, to study labor use in selected rice-growing villages, and to study land-improvement societies in the Korat region.

Sitton's successor was **George B. Davis,** also from Oregon State University. Unfortunately, Davis died suddenly of a heart attack shortly after his arrival in Bangkok. The council made no more joint appointments with Oregon State; thereafter, all council staff members working in Thailand were supported by the council as visiting professors or associates.

Continuing its cooperative work with Kasetsart, in 1963 the council appointed **Melvin W. Wagner** visiting professor of agricultural economics. Wagner was a marketing specialist and a doctoral candidate from the University of California, Davis. He thought it was essential for A/D/C to recruit and train more Thais as part of its work with the faculty of economics and business administration. Wagner (field report, 1967) wrote:

> What is essential to progress in teaching, research, and ultimately, action programs related to agricultural economics in Thailand is a body of well trained Thais. There needs to be a sufficient number that at least some will have time to think, to do careful and meaningful research, and to base their teaching on an accumulation of knowledge about Thai agriculture rather than on Western texts.

The evidence indicates that the council and other donor agencies supported this view. In 1967, 17 persons from the faculty held fellowships for advanced study abroad: 6 Ph.D. candidates, 8 master's candidates, and 3 individuals in nondegree programs.

An additional council appointee joined Wagner at Kasetsart in 1964: **Milton M. Snodgrass,** on leave from Purdue University, was a visiting research fellow. Snodgrass received the second such appointment. (The first went to John W. Mellor in India.) In recruiting for this position, the council looked for a promising young agricultural economist who was already established at a U.S. university and had an interest in international development. The research fellow was to spend up to 18 months at an Asian university studying the local agricultural economy while contributing to the teaching and research program. Snodgrass collaborated with Wagner at Kasetsart in the

study of local marketing problems but gave major attention to issues related to the teaching of agricultural economics at the undergraduate level.

From 1957 to 1964, Wharton was the associate for Thailand, working from Singapore and later Malaysia. Barnett took on the associate responsibilities from 1964 to 1969, making regular visits to Bangkok from Manila and later from Kuala Lumpur.

In early 1969, **A. Russell Stevenson,** then the council's administrative officer in New York, settled in Bangkok to begin a 15-month assignment as associate for Thailand. Stevenson worked primarily with Kasetsart's department of rural education.

At this time, Bangkok had become the Geneva of Asia. The number of international agencies engaged in economic and social development had proliferated. The Rockefeller Foundation had staff working in agriculture, medicine, and education. The Ford Foundation's regional office managed its activities in Southeast Asia. Also present in Bangkok with large staff contingents were such United Nations agencies as the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the Economic and Social Council for the Far East. And soon to open in Bangkok was the council's interregional program office (see also chapter 4).

Stevenson's work with the department of rural education gave the council a new link at Kasetsart outside the faculty of economics and business administration. The department, a unit of the faculty of agriculture, was reorganizing. Along with the departments of home science and physical education, it was to become part of a new faculty of education. The department had 17 staff teachers and was responsible for three groups of students. As many as 30 B.Sc. students elected rural education as a major field of concentration during their final 2 years of undergraduate study; a large number of master's-degree candidates enrolled in courses part time; and a group of vocational agriculture teachers enrolled in a special 2-year program leading to the B.Sc. degree. The department faced critical problems of staff development, burdensome teaching loads, and a lack of active research. The council was able to help by awarding fellowships to three promising staff members and by funding two village studies that represented a first experience in field research for those who participated.

Stevenson regularly visited the regional universities that were assuming new importance as training centers. The faculty of agriculture at Khon Kaen University in the northeast, the social science faculty at Chiengmai University in the north, and the faculty of education at the new University of Songkhla in the south were training institutions in which the council took a growing interest. Barnett (and later Stevenson) maintained a useful contact with Pro-

fessor Jacques Amyot, the director of the Social Science Research Institute at Chulalongkorn University. Several of the institute's studies and conferences were partially supported by the council.

Bryant E. Kearl and **Shao-er Ong** arrived in Bangkok in 1970 to establish the regional research and training program that would administer council activities in which more than one country was involved. When the council decided to relocate the office to Singapore the following year, Ong remained in Bangkok as the associate for Thailand.

Ong was the first associate of Asian origin. He was born in Foochow, China, taught at Fukien Christian University, and did graduate study at Nanking University. He later completed a Ph.D. in agricultural economics at Washington State University. Before joining the council, Ong was a regional farm-management specialist for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, and in that role he came to be known throughout Asia.

One of Ong's early activities was participating in a survey of teaching and research in the rural social sciences then in progress at various Thai institutions. This laid the groundwork for a series of national seminars that he organized with several faculty members. Six seminars were convened during 1972 and another six in 1973. The seminars exposed participants to a range of subjects, among them coordination among agricultural institutions; innovations in agricultural technology; social sciences and agricultural development; land improvement and settlement; production incentives; and education for development.

Ong was active on many fronts during his 8 years as the associate for Thailand. Two of his activities deserve special mention: his service to and reinforcement of the interregional program and his development of professional links between rural social scientists in Thailand and Nepal. In support of the interregional program, Ong helped to organize a seminar on national agricultural research systems, convened in Delhi; he helped Southworth with a workshop in Tokyo on economic and social aspects of farm mechanization; and he collaborated with Barnett in organizing a conference in Taipei to review agricultural credit arrangements and farmers' associations for Malaysian and Taiwanese officials. In one unique project, Ong joined Prince Chakrabandhu, rector of Kasetsart University, in three trips to meet with university officials and staff to strengthen academic relationships in 10 Asian countries.

Ong made good use of his contacts through FAO to arrange for exchange visits among subject-matter specialists from Thailand and Nepal. He was serving as the associate for the two countries, and the exchanges foreshadowed the beginning of an active council program

in Nepal 2 years later. Ong (field report, 1974) wrote of their importance:

> If properly organized and conducted, these exchanges will yield long-run effects in introducing new ideas, in better understanding common problems, and in formulating mutual aid projects.

The first exchange in 1973 was a productive visit of university deans representing Kasetsart and Tribhuvan universities. A second and more ambitious exchange was a visit of home economists to explore common concerns in upgrading home economics training programs and means of extending to rural areas programs on home management, child care, nutrition, and public health. In January 1974, five home economists from Nepal visited Thailand. With help from Ruth Kearl (wife of Bryant Kearl) and Thai colleagues, Ong arranged a full schedule of visits over a week's time, concluding with a 1-day seminar in which 40 Thai home economists participated. The following March, the Thai group was invited to a similar series of observations and discussions in Nepal.

Singapore/Malaysia

Table 4. Field staff serving under A. T. Mosher in Singapore/Malaysia.

Name	Years	Name	Years
David W. Brown	1958-1959	Thomas F. Weaver	1967-1971
Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.	1958-1964	Albert H. Moseman	1967-1974
Milton L. Barnett	1966-1973		

During the years the council was active in Singapore and Malaysia, a series of political changes took place. When Wharton and **David W. Brown** arrived in 1958, Singapore was a British colony; a year later it became an autonomous member of the British Commonwealth. In 1963, Singapore joined with Malaya, Sabah, and Sarawak to form the Federation of Malaysia. In 1965, Singapore withdrew from the federation to become an independent city-state; the remaining members of the former federation became the new nation of Malaysia. Singapore was an important center of A/D/C activity in two respects: Wharton (as associate) and Brown (as visiting professor) did their early work from Singapore, and the interregional program's array of activities were directed from a Singapore office from 1971 to 1978 (see chapter 4).

Council activity in Singapore commenced in 1958 when Wharton became the first associate to be given a field assignment. He had joined the council in 1957 as an executive associate following periods of service with the American International Association for Economic and Social Development and with the University of Chicago in a

National Planning Association project to evaluate technical assistance in Latin America.

During his first year with the council, Wharton conducted an intensive survey of U.S. training of foreign graduate students in agricultural economics. He interviewed faculty and Asian students at major American universities. A second survey followed in Asia with interviews of former graduate students and American and Asian professionals active in agricultural economics teaching and research. The complete study, *The U.S. Graduate Training of Asian Agricultural Economists*, was published by the council in 1959.

In his work in Singapore and later in Malaysia, Wharton was an exemplar of the associate concept. He regularly taught economics courses as a visiting professor at the University of Malaya. He wrote many papers examining aspects of the local agricultural economy that were used as teaching materials. In addition to his Singapore responsibilities, he was the associate for the neighboring countries of Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, Thailand, and Vietnam and traveled periodically to these countries to identify and interview fellowship applicants, review grant requests, and observe local activities that were of interest to the council.

At a staff conference in 1959, Wharton defined his work as follows:

> ...(1) to ascertain the level of development of agricultural economics in the region by becoming familiar with the agricultural economic institutions, personnel and activity in each country; (2) to evaluate the council's present activities as contributing to a more rapid development of agriculture; (3) to uncover neglected program areas in which the council could make a contribution.

Brown also began a 2-year assignment as a visiting professor at the University of Malaya in 1958. He was heavily involved in teaching and in guiding honors students in their thesis research and writing. He taught primarily agricultural economics and statistics. Along with some of his students, he conducted two research projects: a study of farming practices in a food-producing area and a farm-management study in southern Malaya dealing with resource use and farming organization.

Both Wharton and Brown worked within the university's department of economics, where they found only marginal interest in theoretical and applied agricultural economics. A more promising locale for such work appeared to be within the faculty of agriculture then being contemplated at the University of Malaya's campus in Kuala Lumpur. Both men were actively interested in the new faculty and participated in planning its curriculum.

In 1960 Wharton moved from Singapore to Kuala Lumpur, where he taught in both the faculty of economics and the new faculty of agriculture. He continued to oversee the council's interests in Cambo-

dia, South Vietnam, and Thailand.

Experimenting with a course on the rural social sciences, Wharton prepared detailed lecture notes and research monographs to supplement the texts. This set of materials was later adopted by instructors at two other universities. Wharton also completed a number of research projects, aided by council grants: a survey of rubber smallholders; a study of Malaysian agricultural patterns and organization; and a study of labor use in paddy areas, duplicating a similar study in Thailand.

Wharton's collaboration with Malaysian colleagues sparked greater interest in U.S. graduate training. Both Malaysia and Singapore had strong British ties, and their universities were linked to the British external exam system. Faculty advisors and students were slow to accept the option of advanced training in the United States. A degree taken at a British university was more readily recognized and preferred. However, with the encouragement of Wharton and other council staff members who followed him, an increasing number of Malaysians opted for postgraduate study in the United States, especially in the fields of agriculture and the rural social sciences. The council's *Directory of Fellows* reveals a group of Malaysians who today hold distinguished positions in academic institutions and government agencies.

When Wharton left Malaysia for a sabbatical leave at Stanford University, he was replaced as associate by Barnett. In his 7 years in Malaysia, Barnett played a role that was unique to the council. He was invited to be a staff member of and consultant to the research unit of the Ministry of National and Rural Development. The creation of this special unit coincided with the arrival of Barnett and Agoes Salim, its first director, who had recently completed his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin as a council fellow. Agoes was the first Malaysian to earn a U.S. university doctorate in agricultural economics. The research unit was established to undertake social science and operations research on various ministry activities. Barnett was able to provide useful insights as a cultural anthropologist and a student of social change. His location in the ministry gave him an opportunity to work on local development problems from within a government bureaucracy.

Barnett (field report, 1967) gave the following summary of his assignment:

> a. To advise on the establishment of organization, personnel, and methodology for an evaluation and research unit;
> b. To assist in the operation of an evaluation program for rural development programs;
> c. To concentrate on studies concerned with rural communities, value and motivation patterns, etc., and make appropriate recommendations for policy and program implementation;

d. To provide in-service training and advise on the need for post-graduate training.

From this agenda three areas of major concern emerged: rural health programs, the work of MARA (an agency involved with the development of rural industry and vocational training of rural people, especially Malays), and land-development schemes. Regarding land development, for example, Barnett commented that virtually no research was done on the 65 land-settlement schemes around the country, making it impossible to formulate criteria for colonists on the basis of previous experience.

From 1970 to 1973, his final years in Malaysia, Barnett was linked to two other government agencies, the Department of National Unity and the evaluation unit of the prime minister's department. In these affiliations he worked with Malaysian colleagues on a number of rural-development projects. There were difficulties to address in the community-development programs and in the functioning of the new farmers' organizations. He was involved in studies of area approaches to agricultural development by participating in research on the Muda River Irrigation Scheme. He also worked with rural health, family planning, and adult-literacy training. Most often he helped design research and methods for conducting it.

In his larger role as associate, Barnett kept in touch with activities at the faculty of agriculture at the university and taught a course there on the sociology of development. He conducted another course on health, culture, and community at the faculty of medicine. This course was designed for nurses and administrators who were later assigned to rural clinics throughout the country. He also participated in the interregional program, attending its workshops and seminars, recommending research grants, and identifying candidates for advanced study. In July 1973, before he left Kuala Lumpur for a professorship at Cornell University, Barnett was given the title *Tan Sri*, the second-highest honor bestowed by the government.

From 1967 to 1971, Barnett had an able council colleague in **Thomas F. Weaver,** an agricultural economist who was a visiting professor in the faculty of agriculture. Weaver was part of a younger generation of agricultural economists recruited by Mosher who had completed graduate programs before their appointments and had prior international experience. Weaver had conducted his thesis research in Raipur District in central India on irrigation and agricultural development.

Weaver quickly made a place for himself within the faculty of agriculture, which had few instructors for the agricultural economics courses. His classes were primarily for students in their senior year who, he felt, had "been getting too much information on the theories of agricultural development and not enough on economic theory and

the practical aspects of agricultural economics." He wanted students to view land economics, for example, "not as an end in itself, but as a consolidation of such other areas as farm management, marketing, resource development, production economics, and as a tool for planning and development" (field report, 1969).

Weaver felt it was necessary to build more substance into the undergraduate courses in preparation for the graduate program that was emerging. In addition to his concern for course content, Weaver worked to create a greater interest and capability in research. In this effort he joined an informal group made up of two returned A/D/C fellows, a U.S. Peace Corps specialist, and two colleagues from the geography and land survey departments. The group got a variety of research projects going, including a study of some aspects of rice production and marketing, a location analysis for rubber-processing factories, and some work in response to requests from one of the state agricultural officers. Several research projects in the Kuala Pilah area were considerably strengthened through the use of students as field workers. The practice of drawing students into research continued in the following years.

By the time Weaver completed his first 2-year term, he was no longer just a visiting professor—he had been made an official member of the faculty. He was then able to work more closely with some of the graduate students as their supervisor.

In 1967, Mosher and the trustees approved an appointment that was unique to the council. **Albert H. Moseman** became the only associate who was not a social scientist. Moseman was a plant scientist and had been the director for agricultural sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation and later the assistant administrator for technical cooperation and research of USAID.

While the council did not do biological research related to agriculture, it helped countries organize effective research; for instance, it helped them productively integrate physical, biological, and social science research. Mosher viewed the appointment of Moseman to the staff as a means of forging a closer link between the agronomic and economic aspects of agricultural development. Accordingly, Moseman traveled in Asia and worked with council staff and officials of ministries of agriculture. In 1968 he was a member of a joint research review team of the United States and Pakistan that studied ways to increase the efficiency of Pakistan's agricultural research programs. He made several visits to Malaysia, which was reorganizing its national research system. As a result, the Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute was established; and in 1970 Moseman moved to Kuala Lumpur to be its first director—an interim appointment for 1 year until a permanent Malaysian director was in place. Moseman continued to advise the institute in matters of organization and management.

During his years with the council, Moseman completed two monographs that the council published and that were widely circulated in Asia and elsewhere: *Building Agricultural Research Systems in the Developing Nations* (1970) and *National Agricultural Research Systems in Asia* (1971). The first of these became a classic in agricultural research literature.

South Vietnam

The council maintained a program in what was formerly South Vietnam for only a brief time. While in Singapore and Malaysia, Wharton held associate responsibility for the country.

In 1959 **Robert D. Stevens** was appointed visiting professor to work with a faculty of economics established that year at the National College of Agriculture at Bao-Loc. Stevens helped the faculty develop a curriculum in agricultural economics, taught several core courses, and initiated local farm-management research. The council supported a study at the University of Hue: an investigation of price differentials between Hue markets and those of outlying villages for selected major crops.

When Stevens finished his assignment and left in 1961, he was not replaced because the political and military situations were changing. A decade later, a fellowship was granted to Truong Quang Canh, a promising candidate from the ministry of agriculture. Canh earned a Ph.D. at Ohio State University and returned to South Vietnam in 1974.

India

Table 5. Field staff serving under A. T. Mosher in India.

Name	Years	Name	Years
John W. Mellor	1959-1960	Donald C. Taylor	1968-1971
John P. Hrabovszky	1963-1965	Abraham M. Weisblat	1969-1972

From Buck's day on, the council maintained contact with Indian social scientists, awarding fellowships, making research grants, getting their participation in workshops and seminars, and using some of their institutions for training purposes. However, only a few council staff members actually lived and worked in India.

John W. Mellor was appointed visiting research fellow to India in 1959. Mellor was an assistant professor of agricultural economics at Cornell University. He worked for 18 months from a base at the Balwant Rajput Agricultural College at Agra, teaching and conducting research on problems related to the agricultural economy of North India. In later years at Cornell, he continued a professional interest in

India, advising Indian graduate students and writing on Indian agricultural development problems. He later became director of the International Food Policy Research Institute, a position he still held in 1989.

In 1963, **John P. Hrabovszky** began a 3-year assignment as a visiting professor at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in its division of agricultural economics. Hrabovszky taught some of the core courses, guided graduate students, and carried out research projects either as project leader or by taking on much of the research task. In teaching the land-economics and farm-management courses he was able to organize regular field trips in which farm interviews and group discussions complemented the lectures and reading assignments.

During Hrabovszky's second year, the council made a grant to the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics to support a 3-year program to enhance the teaching and research competence of agricultural economists at Indian colleges and universities. The aim was to involve younger members of the profession in a series of regional seminars that addressed specific agricultural problems. The four seminars held during 1964 brought together 15 to 20 teachers and researchers in each and exposed them to the practical tools and techniques of farm-management research. In 1965 many of the participants took part in an intensive 1-month session centered on research problems in farm planning. As a member of the society's research committee, Hrabovszky helped to organize the seminar and participated in the discussions.

One of his CECA tasks was to visit other Indian institutions engaged in similar work and confer with their staffs and students. These outside contacts enabled him to get a clearer picture of what others were doing and to compare that with the work at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute.

With Taylor's arrival in Bangalore in 1968 as visiting professor at the Mysore University of Agricultural Sciences, the council began to form an important set of contacts in southern India. Taylor had been at the University of Beirut for 3 years as an assistant professor of agricultural economics before joining the council. His 4 years in Bangalore were followed by associate assignments in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Taylor's main teaching assignment was the core course on agricultural and economic development for M.Sc. students. He worked closely with departmental staff to upgrade the undergraduate and graduate programs. Research, for example, was a facet of postgraduate training that required more attention. He helped spark an interest in research by initiating a study of some of the development problems related to Mysore State's largest irrigation scheme in the Tungabha-

dra River Valley. Taylor continued this line of research over the next several years, drawing in a faculty colleague and many of his students to help conduct and analyze the data. It gave him an opportunity to demonstrate new techniques of interviewing and collecting data. It also marked the beginning of his career-long interest in the study of irrigation systems, which he pursued in later council assignments and which has resulted in an important body of published work.

In 1970, Taylor was made an associate. He maintained a network of contacts throughout southern India. He visited universities and development project managers at Coimbatore, Dharwar, Hyderabad, Madras, and Trivandrum. He also visited Sri Lanka as interim associate following Schickele's departure.

In 1969, Weisblat moved from New York to New Delhi to become the resident associate for northern India and Pakistan. During the preceding 4 years, he had carried associate responsibilities for the area by visiting regularly. Established in New Delhi, his primary affiliation was with the Indian Agricultural Research Institute. He taught a course in land economics and began a study on the roles of landlords and tenants in areas where land reform was taking effect, a study similar to one he had organized earlier in the Philippines. He also taught a course on research methods. Much of his time was spent with the dean of the graduate school, Kissen Kanungo, helping to strengthen the training programs and research activities of the institute.

In his travels in India, Weisblat was struck by the isolation of many agricultural economists and other rural social scientists. Because they were geographically separated, they had few opportunities to meet one another or discuss common professional interests and problems. The council sponsored a meeting in 1967 for a group of these scientists. Weisblat and Stevenson organized a 2-day conference of former council fellows working in India. Fourteen attended: two principals of agricultural schools, eight professors of economics and agricultural economics, three professors of extension, and one researcher at a farm-management center. They discussed the teaching and training of agricultural economists in India, reviewed current research priorities, and debated the relative merits of advanced study in the United States and India.

In the interests of both the institute and the council, Weisblat kept in touch with Indian social science centers in Gujarat and Maharashtra states and at the University of Bombay and gave particular attention to the training programs at Lyallpur Agricultural University in Pakistan.

From 1970 to 1972, while still in India, he worked to ensure Indian participation in the interregional program, helping Kearl to identify

Indians as resource persons, potential research grantees, or visiting specialists qualified to take assignments elsewhere in Asia.

Taiwan

Table 6. Field staff serving under A. T. Mosher in Taiwan.

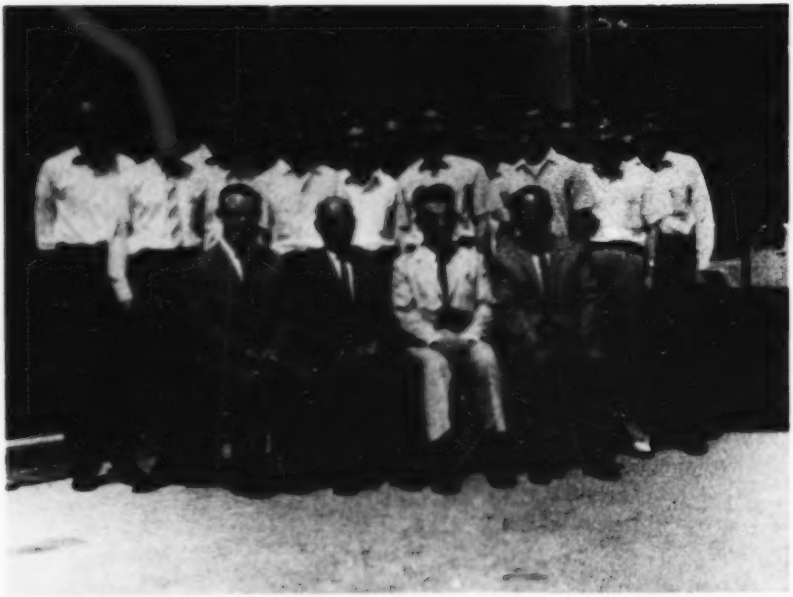
Name	Years	Name	Years
Arthur W. Peterson	1960-1962	Ardron B. Lewis	1965-1968
Charles F. Sarle	1961-1962		

The council had longstanding links with Taiwan. Buck and Lewis made regular visits there, renewing ties with some of the agricultural economists they had known in China. They also made new contacts at such institutions as the National Taiwan University in Taipei, the Chung Hsing University at Taichung, and the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. As early as 1956, CECA fellowships were awarded to two candidates from Taiwan, the first of a group of 33 to receive council fellowships over 15 years. By 1970, the council no longer awarded fellowships to candidates from Taiwan, whose need for outside assistance had diminished.

Arthur W. Peterson was the first visiting professor appointed to Taiwan. In 1960-1961, his first year, he was stationed at the Taiwan Provincial College of Agriculture at Taichung (later, called the Taiwan Provincial Chung Hsing University). The following year he moved to Taipei to work with staff at the National Taiwan University. He conferred with staffs at both institutions about their agricultural economics curriculums, taught advanced courses, and advised on research. The council made grants to support two projects that Peterson supervised. In one, Fukumatsu Suzuki of Japan spent 5 months in Taiwan studying economic land classification; in the other, Peterson and S. C. Lee conducted a study tour in Japan for six recent graduates of the National Taiwan University's agricultural economics department.

Peterson was joined in 1961 by **Charles F. Sarle** of the University of Florida. Sarle had experience in Asia under FAO and spent 1 year as a visiting professor at Chung Hsing University. He taught a course on survey design and advised staff on some of their research projects.

In 1965, Lewis moved to Taiwan to begin 3 years as associate and visiting professor at Chung Hsing University. He taught a graduate course on agricultural prices. He took on other courses and was active in the university's teaching program, but his major contribution was as a research advisor. He stressed research as an essential corrective to textbook learning. Lewis (personal communication, 1985) said funding for research was often weak because the research product was not seen as useful. In agricultural economics research, he was



Participants in a seminar at the Research Institute of Agricultural Economics, Chung Hsing University, Taichung, Taiwan, April 1966. Seated: Ardron B. Lewis (left) and Arthur T. Mosher (third from left).

Mr. Chu, a senior Korean official, opens a shortcourse on agricultural marketing research at the college of agriculture, Seoul National University, Suwon, Korea, 1966. At table: Herman M. Southworth (left) and Ardron B. Lewis.

farm and farmer oriented: In his view, useful research was conducted at the farm level and focused on practical problems faced by individual farmers. He encouraged his students to spend time in the countryside, talk with farmers, and deal with farmers' immediate concerns with crops, labor, inputs, and money.

South Korea

Southworth, who was at the College of Agriculture at Suwon, became associate for South Korea in 1966. He was the only council associate to live in that country. (Lewis was the associate for South Korea for a number of years, but he visited from his base in New York.)

Southworth was a specialist in agricultural marketing and had worked for the council as a member of the training materials project staff. His initial activity was to conduct, with Lewis, a 1-month intensive shortcourse on marketing agricultural products. The 24 participants were chosen from among college instructors, graduate students, and government officials; the teaching team consisted of Southworth, Lewis, and three professors from the college, Jim Hwan Park, Young Kun Shim, and Sung Hwan Ban. Central to the course was an exercise analyzing data collected from 179 rice dealers in the Suwon area, daily records of wholesale prices of rice and other commodities over 3 years, and interview data from 300 farmers on their marketing activities. The course consisted of daily lectures along with instruction in data analysis. A unique feature of the course, following final preparation of the charts and graphs that summarized the data analysis, was a meeting with the farmers and dealers who had furnished the data for open discussion and interpretation of the findings.

Southworth made his major contribution as a visiting professor of marketing in the department of agricultural economics of the Seoul National University College of Agriculture. He offered undergraduate courses in marketing and graduate courses in agricultural and economic development. He worked with departmental colleagues on conducting research, developing curricula, and training research workers. On March 8, 1973, the president of Seoul National University conferred on Southworth the degree of doctor of agriculture in recognition of his 7 years of service at the college.

Southworth completed a text on agricultural marketing oriented to the problems of a developing economy with an emphasis on the role of marketing as a link between the commercialization of agriculture and urban industrial growth. The book, *Marketing Policies for Agriculture,* was published by the council in 1976.

During his years at Suwon, Southworth gradually altered the traditional lecture system of instruction by introducing seminars that drew students into research activities as a means of illuminating local farm problems. His lecture notes, issued as mimeos, were used in other universities inside and outside Korea.

Before returning to the United States to retire, Southworth spent some months in Singapore helping the interregional program staff edit publications.

Sri Lanka

Before 1967, the council had occasional contacts with social scientists in Sri Lanka, but it had no active program there. It had awarded a fellowship to T. Jogaratnam, who completed a doctoral program in agricultural economics at Cornell and later became head of the department of agricultural economics of the University of Sri Lanka.

As a result of discussions during 1966, the council decided to place an associate in Sri Lanka and initiate an expanded program. Schickele was given that assignment.

Schickele brought to the council a wealth of experience directly related to its interests. His years as a professor of agricultural economics at Iowa State and North Dakota State universities were followed by 11 years as director of the land and water development division of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN in Rome. He had written extensively on planning and implementing economic development in developing nations. His first 2 years with the council, 1965 to 1967, were as a member of the training materials staff; he wrote *The Agrarian Revolution and Economic Progress,* which was published by Praeger.

Schickele's arrival at Peradeniya as associate for Sri Lanka coincided with the establishment of an agricultural economics research unit in the faculty of agriculture. He and two researchers first undertook a study of the experience of settlers and administrators in two land-settlement projects. Nine students participated in the field surveys. The results were so useful that the research unit was asked to replicate the study in nine other settlements.

As a visiting professor, Shickele taught courses on the economics of agricultural development for undergraduates and on research methods for a group of graduate students and research assistants. He also served on two government planning commissions: one to advise on trained-staff requirements for agriculture, the other to formulate a country agricultural development plan for 1971 to 1977.

Schickele identified strong fellowship candidates. Seven individuals were granted fellowships for U.S. study during his 3 years as associate. Before leaving Sri Lanka, he drafted the main parts of a

Ardron B. Lewis (front row, second from right) takes a field trip with graduate students of Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan, 1963.

report on trained manpower requirements for agriculture for approval by the commission he had served. He also wrote a report for the government, "Agricultural Research, Extension, Education and Training." He was particularly pleased that the National Council on Higher Education established a permanent department of agricultural economics within the faculty of agriculture and that it named council fellow Jogaratnam as its head.

Japan

The council always had a strong interest in Japan. Following Buck's initial contacts, Lewis acted as associate by regularly visiting institutions in Hokkaido, Kyoto, Kyushu, and Tokyo. Departments of agricultural economics at these universities were among the recipients of grants for equipment and research.

Research grants, for example, supported a variety of studies by Japanese scientists who had difficulty finding local funding. The studies were on land classification, farm management, extension education, rural planning, management and labor costs, the eco-

nomic effects of the use of power tillers, and factors affecting the development of dairy farming.

Traditionally, Japan's scholars trained within the country; thus, Japanese training had an insular character that was partially offset by the council's support of individuals who came to the United States for graduate study. Considering how few Japanese were fluent in English, the council had a surprisingly large number of Japanese fellows (see appendix B). Of the 48 fellowships, 24 were for 1-year, nondegree programs; 15 were for regular degree study; and 9 were for special travel and study. The nondegree programs were designed to accommodate the fellows' professional interests by assigning them to university departments that had advisors with matching interests who could guide and collaborate with them.

Japanese social scientists participated in many of the workshops and seminars organized by the American universities research program, the research and training network, and the interregional program office. A few Korean fellows were able under the terms of their council fellowships to enroll in degree studies at Kyushu and Kyoto universities.

Kenzo Hemmi, professor of agricultural economics at Tokyo University, was the first Asian elected to the council's board of trustees.

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THE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

A/D/C's main legacy to Asia is the 588 men and women from 17 countries who studied for advanced degrees with the council's support from 1953 to 1985. (See tables 7 and 8.) Their achievements are many and diverse. On Asian university campuses, in government offices and agencies, and on the staffs of international development organizations, former council fellows are today furthering the economic progress of their own countries and contributing to the growth and development of the community of nations.

In the early 1950s, the lack of support for work in the social sciences related to agriculture caught the attention of William I. Myers and J. Norman Efferson. On their recommendation, the council took some early remedial steps such as placing visiting professors at Asian universities, making grants of books and equipment, and supporting pilot projects of research and teaching. But, as useful as these first efforts were, the only long-run redress was to help Asian countries enlarge their own stocks of professional economists, sociologists, extension specialists, and public administrators to meet the needs of national development. Qualified Asians had to be identified and supported in graduate studies in strong social science departments, which at that time were primarily in the United States. A fellowship program was needed.

In designing and developing a social science program, the council began by building on the competence of its own staff. Of the 84 associates, visiting professors, and short-term specialists who served the council over its 32-year history, most were professionals in social science fields related to agriculture. Trustees and fellowship committee members were also men and women who had demonstrated an interest in the human and economic problems of rural development. This level of competence within the A/D/C family made it easier to identify potential candidates for study, to select the most promising, and to place them in university departments best suited to their academic and professional needs.

Table 7. A/D/C fellowships by recipient's country of origin.

Country	Degree		Nondegree	Travel	Total
	M.S.	Ph.D.			
Bangladesh	39	8			47
Burma	1	1			2
China	5	3	1		9
Côte d'Ivoire	1	3	1		5
India	15	23	5	1	44
Indonesia	30	27	1	1	59
Japan	11	4	25	9	49
Malaysia	32	13	1	1	47
Nepal	62	14			76
Pakistan	18	8	5		31
Philippines	59	43	2	4	108
Singapore		2			2
South Korea	12	16	3		31
Sri Lanka	12	7		1	20
Taiwan	19	15	2	2	38
Thailand	40	22	1	1	64
Vietnam		1			1
TOTALS	356	210	47	20	633[a]

[a]Total number of fellowship awards (45 individuals received two awards).

Table 8. A/D/C fellowships by recipient's field of study.

Field of Study	Degree		Nondegree	Travel	Total
	M.S.	Ph.D.			
Econ/ag. econ	228	160	37		425
Soc/rural soc.	44	26	4		74
Ag. extension	21	7	1		29
Anthropology	9	5			14
Ag. education	4	2	1		7
Public admin.	4	3			7
Home econ.	1				1
Agriculture	1				1
Ag. law	1				1
Ag. journalism	1				1
Comp. educ.		1			1
Reg. planning	3				3
Statistics	6	2	1		9
Horticulture	1				1
Bus. admin.	8				8
Community dev.	4	3			7
Communication	4				4
Resource mgmt.	4	2	2		8
Agribusiness	8				8
Geography	1				1
Environ. studies	3				3
TOTALS	356	211	46		613[a]

[a]Excludes 20 travel fellowships.

For example, Peter Po-Chuan Sun of Taiwan found his interests in irrigation and water management well served at the University of

California, Davis. Jeung Han Lee of Korea attended Michigan State University and was able to participate in the Korea sector-analysis research project that his advisor, Glenn Johnson, was then directing. And Nimal E. H. Sanderatne of Sri Lanka, who was placed at the University of Wisconsin, found the university's Land Tenure Center an excellent choice for his interests in land tenure and land use.

Outside the A/D/C circle lay a resource of equal importance; the social science departments of the U.S. land-grant university system. It was in departments such as these, where the history of a scientific approach to the social sciences dates back more than 50 years, that many fellows received their advanced training. The University of Wisconsin could claim Henry C. Taylor, who in 1905 wrote the first textbook in agricultural economics. At Cornell University in 1919 George Warren and Thomas Hunt gathered the first empirical data on the cost of producing specific farm commodities in different locales and developed an accounting system that showed a farmer's net income for each commodity produced. That year the predecessor of the American Farm Economics Association, the Farm Management Association, was formed with 350 members (McDean, 1984).

Agricultural economics was the rural social science discipline best established in the United States at the time the council began granting fellowships. University involvement in overseas assistance programs was on the rise. Scores of agricultural economics faculty members and many of their graduate students were participating in projects in developing countries. Many federal-government and university contracts were being undertaken to enlist American social scientists in the cause of agricultural and rural development around the world. As a result, the council was increasingly able to entrust its fellows to academic advisors who had themselves taught and conducted research overseas, sometimes in a fellow's own country. By such links the council was often able to overcome the difficulty of matching U.S. graduate training to the needs of the foreign student.

A third resource was the fellows themselves, who in most cases were practicing professionals with academic training and on-the-job experience. These individuals brought to their host departments a mix of knowledge and assumptions that differed from those of their American peers and professors. And, inasmuch as they would return home to apply their training in different settings, it was natural for them to raise questions in the classroom, in seminars, and in research papers that had particular relevance to problems their own countries faced in government policy, administrative constraints, labor markets, or community organizations. By their presence and by their often skeptical views of textbook theories and examples, the fellows enriched the programs of which they were part.

THE DEMAND FOR TRAINING

The council's training objective was not imposed on the countries of Asia; rather, the council responded to an increasing demand evident in every country in which it worked. Throughout Asia recognition was growing that agricultural and rural development were fundamental to economic progress. Schools of agriculture began to be upgraded to colleges and universities. New colleges of agriculture were established. Regional training institutions were strengthened and enlarged.

By 1965, India had a network of agricultural colleges—at least one in each of its 22 states. By 1969, Thailand had established regional colleges at Chiengmai in the north, Khon Kaen in the northeast, and Songhkla in the south. Similar new higher-education facilities were appearing in Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. And alongside these institutions were growing numbers of government agencies, created—or rejuvenated—to serve each country's agricultural needs and the needs of its rural population. The demand was growing for people with advanced education and training to staff these institutions; and because much of the training required was available only outside the region, fellowship-donor organizations responded.

A/D/C was not alone. Fellowships in the field of agriculture and, to a lesser extent, in the rural social sciences, were a significant feature of several other organizations. Among those concerned particularly with Asia were the Rockefeller, Ford, and Asia foundations and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Many American universities had contracts with USAID that supported advanced training for foreign students in the United States.

A measure of the demand for training and of donor response can be seen in Stevenson's survey (1979); Over the 9 years from 1969 to 1978, 1,422 students from less-developed countries enrolled in graduate programs at 55 U.S. departments of agricultural and resource economics. These students came from 87 countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. The largest number—521, or 37%—came from 19 Asian countries.

THE SELECTION PROCESS

A/D/C's procedures for selecting fellows were unique in some important ways and were a distinguishing characteristic of the council's fellowship program. The council had to present candidates who met U.S. university requirements, such as competence in English, a

good academic record, evidence of sound health, and proof of adequate financial support. But in the council's case, the evaluation of these criteria came later in the process. The first and essential step was to identify individuals who had the ability and desire to contribute significantly to their home countries. The council was committed to improving the way the human problems of agricultural development were dealt with. It was principally the country-based associate who took the initial step of identifying fellows who shared that commitment. Visiting professors and short-term specialists also participated in this discovery stage.

At first, associates' recommendations were based on personal acquaintance. Candidates were students who were in courses taught by the associate or a trusted colleague or who were involved in field research with them. Applicants who applied directly to the New York office were referred to the country associate. In formulating their recommendations, associates asked themselves a number of questions: Has the candidate had experience as a teacher, a researcher, or a staff member in a government agency dealing with agriculture? Is the candidate well regarded by superiors? Is the home university or agency interested in employing the candidate when he or she returns from overseas? Are there enough funds in the associate's country budget to support another fellow, or two, or three?

When these and other questions could be answered affirmatively, the associate forwarded to the fellowship officer in New York a preliminary application form and several other documents—a personal recommendation, an English-language test score, an explanation of the proposed field of study and degree to be obtained, relevant family information, and the best date for the fellowship to begin. When the material was in order, the fellowship officer prepared a dossier for submission to the fellowship committee that included a more comprehensive application form with data needed to meet university admission requirements—a complete record of academic work (copies of transcripts); English and Graduate Record Examination test scores; a medical report based on a recent complete physical examination; a biographical statement; a description of professional and academic interests and career aspirations; particulars of the family situation (spouse, if any, and children or other dependents); an assurance of position on return home; and a personal financial disclosure (a statement of other available income or resources outside the fellowship provisions).

The role of the fellowship committee was critical. The committee alone was authorized, on behalf of the trustees, to make fellowship awards. At first the committee was composed of trustees who worked with the staff. Later, members were added who, though not trustees, brought to the committee important professional insights and experi-

ence. The membership of the committee over the years included

Walter Coward, Cornell University
J. Norman Efferson, Louisiana State University
Walter P. Falcon, Stanford University
Frederick H. Fliegel, University of Illinois
James P. Houck, University of Minnesota
John P. Lewis, Princeton University
Harold H. Loucks, China Medical Board
William I. Myers, Cornell University
Vernon W. Ruttan, University of Minnesota
William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin
Gilbert F. White, University of Chicago

The contribution these committee members made to the success of the program cannot be overemphasized. Their attendance was remarkably good, considering their busy work schedules and the fact that they were unpaid except for travel expenses.

Before the meetings, committee members received dossiers for each candidate for a new award or extension. (All awards were made for 1 year; renewal was based on performance.) Often, the committee had as many as 15 to 20 candidates to consider. In later years, as the program grew, they met twice a year—once to consider new awards and once to consider renewals.

Each slate of candidates was discussed fully and freely. The committee members, having reviewed the dossiers, raised a variety of questions, and these provoked other questions. How reliable were the Asian institutions' transcripts? What value could be placed on the letters of reference? How confident were they of the associates' recommendations? What study program was proposed, and at what university could that program best be nurtured?

Placement of the fellows was at times straightforward; more often, it required correspondence and contacts with a variety of individuals. For example, Affendi Anwar of Indonesia had worked with Edward Ward while Ward was the council's associate at Bogor; back on the staff at Montana State, Ward helped get Anwar admitted there as a doctoral candidate.

At times, of course, either the prospective fellow or the associate had unrealistic expectations. The committee then had to consider whether a particular student from a small, new university would progress faster in a large department or in a smaller, less competitive environment.

Without exception, committee members were active in their disciplines and alert to changing department faculties. A department that once was strong might have lost a number of key members, making it less suitable for the fellow under consideration; a department that once was weak may have become stronger. Some departments were

better than others at meeting certain needs of foreign students, such as remedial work in mathematics, statistics, or English. Fewer departments had M.Sc. programs in which foreign students could be assured of adequate faculty attention.

Another contribution the fellowship committee made was to be a sounding board for ongoing issues of training. Should the range of training be broadened beyond agricultural economics and economics—as in fact it was—to include such related social science fields as extension education, sociology, anthropology, or public administration? How relevant was U.S. training to the needs of the council's fellows? (This question was probably the most perennial of all.) Was training outside the United States (in Australia, the United Kingdom, or Asia) a better alternative for some fellows? Considering relative costs, when was a private college to be recommended over a public university? How important was home-country thesis research, and could administrative and financial arrangements be made for it? And at what point should fellowship awards be shifted from the relatively more advanced countries of Asia to the less advanced ones?

ADMINISTRATION

The success of the A/D/C fellowship program was due, as we have seen, to wise screening and selection, high-quality training in the rural social sciences available in the United States and later in Asia, and careful administration.

The First Decade

The first staff member to direct the fellowship program was Ardron B. Lewis, who oversaw the selection and placement of council fellows from 1956 to 1964. Lewis maintained contact with the fellows and their academic advisors through campus visits and correspondence. He also maintained contact with the staff of the Institute of International Education, which handled the housekeeping details of the program. The institute provided similar services for other fellowship-donor organizations; it collected all relevant records for incoming fellows, got university admissions based on A/D/C's recommendations, provided visa sponsorship, arranged foreign and domestic travel, and paid for tuition, fees, maintenance, and allowances.

When Lewis took sabbatical leave at Pennsylvania State University in 1964, he was replaced by **Russell B. Dickerson,** who had obtained leave from his position as director of resident instruction at Penn State to join the council. With the able assistance of **Gay Hamilton**

Fellowships: Some Administrative Tasks

Visa sponsorship. To run its own program, the council had to demonstrate to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service that it was able to provide students with full financial support, academic supervision, and assurance of return home when they completed their studies. When the council became an approved sponsor, its fellows were able to get the necessary visas.

Letter of award. Each fellow received a detailed letter of award outlining the fellowship's provisions, including university selected, academic degree to be pursued, time limits of the award, arrangements for spouse and family, and an agreement to return home at the end of the study program.

General supervision. The fellowship staff corresponded with fellows, academic and foreign student advisors, admissions officers, and the council's overseas staff. They saw that each month's maintenance and allowance checks went out and made arrangements for field study. They reviewed transcripts, maintained office records, and prepared financial statements and projections.

Campus visits. Either Grace Tongue or A. Russell Stevenson visited each campus where a fellow was studying at least once a year to interview each fellow about his or her academic program, plans for coming months, current problems, and family situation. At each campus the council hosted a dinner for fellows and their families.

While on campus, the staff member usually scheduled interviews with academic advisors, the foreign student advisor, and admissions office personnel, particularly in regard to future placement of council fellows. Back in New York, Tongue or Stevenson wrote a detailed report on each fellow, with copies to the associate, visiting professor, or specialist concerned.

Ramabhushanam, who had assisted Lewis for several years, Dickerson oversaw the program for a year. The program had grown. During the academic year 1964-1965, 82 fellows received full or partial support for their studies.

This burgeoning of the program in its first decade was due primarily to increases in council staff in Asia; eight associates and three visiting professors were nominating more and more fellowship candidates as training funds were available in their country budgets. Of the 82 fellows supported in 1964-1965, 60 were in agricultural economics or economics and 22 were in rural sociology, extension and rural education, agricultural law, and political science.

Growth and Change

In the spring of 1965 Dickerson returned to Penn State and Lewis took up a post in Taiwan as field associate for Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. A. Russell Stevenson, the council's administrative officer, assumed management of the fellowship program. The next year, Stevenson, Arthur T. Mosher, Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., and members of the fellowship committee began to consider changing the program's administrative arrangements. The principal problems were overlap and cost. It seemed a needless duplication for the council's fellowship office and the Institute of International Education's liaison to corres-

pond with the fellows, their advisors, and university administrators. It would clearly be more efficient and less costly for the council to assume the entire administration of its fellowship program. In the summer and early fall of 1966, the change was made.

One person who was instrumental in making the new arrangements work was **Grace Tongue.** Tongue had administered the council's program at the institute. A former teacher, she brought to her work a familiarity with the student's world, and she was well acquainted with the council's fellows and their academic programs and support arrangements. Through campus visits she had come to know a number of the fellows personally. She was familiar with the visa regulations governing foreign students and understood the intricacies of admission requirements at many U.S. universities. Tongue was, in short, the ideal person to assist the council in the changeover. After joining the staff in September 1966, she became an indispensable part of the fellowship program, serving first as fellowship secretary and later as fellowship officer until she left the council in 1980.

When she moved to the council, Tongue had the foresight to bring with her another institute staff member, **Virginia Connors.** For the next 14 years, Connors enriched the program with her outstanding skills, utter dedication, tireless work habits, and a memory that could in an instant produce the names of a fellow's family members or the date of a missing letter. Together, Connors, Tongue, and Stevenson carried out the many tasks involved in the administration of the fellowship program.

The management of council fellowships was not without trials for both staff and fellows, and the administrative task was vexing at times. The staff not only had to manage, day to day, a program that involved individuals from more than a dozen countries, all of whom had different motivations and objectives; but also it had to deal with a mix of interests, at times conflicting, of country associates, home-country institutions, and current academic advisors.

A few council fellows grew homesick. They failed in key courses or in their comprehensive exams. They became unhappy with their fields of study, their advisors, or their universities and sought to transfer, or they became ill or had serious accidents. A few who performed at a high level were encouraged by friends or advisors to remain in the United States for additional work or study beyond the award limits to which they had agreed. It was very rare, however, that a council fellow sought to remain permanently in the United States.

Fellows' Conferences

From the earliest days, A/D/C tried to bring fellows together periodically. U.S. universities, at the council's invitation, hosted spe-

A/D/C staff members and fellows attend the annual meeting of the American Agricultural Economics Association at Bozeman, Montana, 1966: A. Russell Stevenson (second row, left), Arthur T. Mosher (behind Stevenson), Abraham M. Weisblat (back row, left of center), and Donald C. Taylor (back row, right of center).

cial summer courses for the fellows and other foreign graduate students to discuss topics bearing specifically on Asian agriculture. Faculty for these summer courses were drawn from the host institution and from among council staff. The courses gave the fellows an opportunity to consider the varied Asian rural-development problems that were often neglected in their U.S.-oriented study programs.

From 1966 on, the council sponsored annual summer conferences for its fellows—by then a sizeable group. No longer extended teaching sessions, the conferences became meetings of 1 or 2 days and were generally scheduled just before or after the annual meeting of the American Agricultural Economics Association. The threefold purpose of the conferences was to enable fellows from different countries and regions to become acquainted with one another, to review and compare their varied academic and research interests, and to discuss their current U.S. training and its relevance to their home-country situations.

Not all fellows were free to attend these meetings. Many were occupied with summer courses, preparation for exams, or thesis research. Those who could attend, however, were encouraged to bring their families and to participate in the association meetings. The

group of A/D/C fellows and fellowship program staff often were joined by council field staff on home leave and other U.S. academics. The agenda for a meeting typically allowed for a mix of professional and personal topics. For example, a fellow might review with the group the thesis research in which he or she was immersed, and associates might describe the council's current activities in particular countries and their own teaching and research interests. Personal issues included questions about the amounts of maintenance payments and allowances and the level of support available if thesis research were undertaken at home. The tougher questions concerned how a fellow, on returning home, might function in an uncertain political climate or in a situation where policy biases adversely affected the independence of research.

Directory of Fellows

The *Directory of Fellows* was useful as a quick reference for council staff and as a reference for the international social science community. It was first published in 1963 and last updated in 1983. Each directory listed all fellows who had studied under council sponsorship up to the time of publication. Organized by country, the directory listed each fellow's name, last known position, degree, field in which the degree was earned, and number of years under council support. The directory was a valuable tool for the community of international development specialists because it identified Asian professionals who were active as teachers, researchers, and administrators in countries in which those specialists trained and worked.

FUNDING

For the first 19 years, the council's U.S. fellowship program was funded entirely by contributions from John D. Rockefeller 3rd and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Year by year the number of awards increased and costs per fellow escalated. During the first 5 years, the average annual cost per fellow ranged from $3,000 to $4,000. By 1974, this figure had reached $13,000 and by 1980 $16,000. The council's annual budget for the fellowship program rose correspondingly:

1954-1958	$ 86,000
1959-1964	172,000
1964-1969	257,000
1969-1972	330,000
1972 on	400,000

The $400,000 budget, constant after 1972 and unadjusted for inflation, allowed for fewer and fewer awards. This constraint was partially relieved when, in 1972, USAID began to give A/D/C an annual grant of $200,000 for the fellowship program. The grant, which continued for 5 years, was proposed by an officer in USAID's technical-assistance sector who was acquainted with Mosher and the work of the council. The prospect of accepting U.S. government funds provoked some lengthy discussions. Trustees and staff were concerned whether such a subsidy might lead to governmental interference in A/D/C's program or lessen the council's independence in selection, placement, and administration. Worrisome, too, was the possibility that USAID financing might lead Asian fellows, colleagues, and governments to perceive A/D/C as a U.S. government agency. As it worked out, the terms of the grant alleviated all such concerns. Unlike most agreements between USAID and private agencies or universities, the subsidy was an outright grant that let the council manage its fellowship program as it had in the past.

ASIAN FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

As council fellows returned home, along with individuals trained under other auspices, Asian academic departments gradually become more competent to train their own professionals. This increased capacity was a fulfillment of the council's original objectives.

Through its network of associates and visiting professors, the council kept abreast of these developments. As stronger local institutions emerged that were capable of providing advanced training in the rural social sciences, training in Asia rather than in North America or Europe became viable, and the council began to try that alternative. Between 1965 and 1970, several fellows were placed in Asian institutions. Four Korean fellows enrolled in graduate degree programs at Kyushu and Kyoto universities in Japan. One fellow from the Philippines completed a master's-degree program at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute. Another Filipino enrolled in a doctoral program in anthropology at the University of Sydney. A Malaysian fellow was placed in an M.A. program in economics at the University of Bombay.

By 1971, training in Asia had become a formal council program. The Asian fellowship program became an integral part of the larger regional research and training program, which was begun in 1970 under the direction of Bryant E. Kearl. (See chapter 4.) Thus, at the midpoint of the council's 32-year history, a concrete effort began to identify master's-level candidates to be awarded graduate assistantships at universities in Asian countries other than their own.

In proposing a graduate-assistantship program, the council expressed its hope that a practice would evolve at Asian institutions that was comparable to the common practice in the United States whereby graduate students become closely associated with one faculty member and serve as apprentices in ongoing faculty research. In fact, this expectation was seldom met, and Asian degree programs evolved along more conventional Asian lines; that is, they relied on lectures and exams and offered few opportunities for students to collaborate with faculty on research.

In establishing the Asian fellowship program, the council had several objectives. One was to achieve greater cost effectiveness. By 1970, the cost of supporting a fellow in an M.Sc.-degree program in the United States for 1 year was more than triple that of a similar program at the University of the Philippines. The disparity was even greater for some Indian universities.

Another objective was to help strengthen the master's programs evolving at Asian universities. The council addressed that objective by sending qualified, full-time students to Asian universities as a first step in their graduate study. By 1971, 258 A/D/C fellows had studied in western countries and were back at work in their homelands. Many were teachers, ready to serve a new generation of students. A third objective was to encourage training in an Asian environment that approximated the environment of a student's home country.

Related to these concerns was the fact that master's-level training was receiving less emphasis at many U.S. universities. Well-qualified American students were enrolling from the outset as doctoral candidates. Leading teachers and researchers gave their primary attention to these students; those working for a terminal M.Sc. had to rely on others on the faculty, and in some departments a master's program was no longer an option for the entering student.

As the Asian fellowship program got started there were some misgivings, particularly among Asians. Promising students said they wanted the best education they could obtain, and they did not think that they would get this in the third world. They did not believe that a degree from an Asian university would give them the prestige or marketability that a degree from a leading western university would confer.

Throughout the 1970s, the Asian fellowship program had to place graduate assistants under some severe constraints. Students were enrolled at universities outside their own countries to maintain the cross-country, cross-cultural character of the interregional program. A/D/C would not support a Thai student at Kasetsart University in Bangkok, but insisted that he or she be placed in a university in the Philippines, India, or elsewhere. Yet, instruction at a host university had to be offered in a language the student could use well; this

requirement essentially ruled out Japanese institutions, where instruction was given in Japanese, a language few Asians outside Japan knew or could take time to learn.

Placement was constrained also by the limited number of good-quality graduate programs then available in Asian countries. Master's-level training at first was limited to a few institutions in India, the Philippines, and Thailand. Australian institutions later became important centers for training. For students entering fields in which graduate training was not available in Asia—anthropology, communication, social psychology—the United States and Europe were still the only options.

In spite of these difficulties, once it was under way the program grew rapidly. With the assistance of **Judith Low** and **Gladys Gwee,** Kearl administered the program from the council's Singapore office. (The council's Asia office was first established in Bangkok in 1970. One year later it was moved to Singapore. In 1978, it was reestablished in Bangkok.) Kearl oversaw the selection of fellows (in consultation with field associates and visiting professors), arranged for placement, explored new placement opportunities, and monitored the performance of the fellows whose study was in progress. By the time Kearl returned to Wisconsin in 1974, more than 30 M.Sc. fellowships had been activated at 10 different colleges and universities and in a number of fields, including economics and agricultural economics, sociology and rural sociology, agribusiness, extension education, and social work. Two years later, 54 fellows were enrolled in master's-level study at 14 different institutions. (See table 9.)

Ralph H. Retzlaff, who succeeded Kearl in 1974, found that the Asian fellowship program was growing so fast and becoming so complicated that a full-time fellowship officer was needed to manage it. In 1975 **Jane Harris** was recruited for this position from the University of Hawaii's East-West Center. During her 3 years as Asian fellowship officer, Harris worked with Retzlaff to identify additional universities, increase the number of graduate-assistant awards, and form a revolving fellowship selection committee. The committee was composed of two council associates, several former fellows, and other Asian professionals, all of whom served for limited periods.

In 1978, **Gerard Rixhon** succeeded Harris, and the council's regional office moved back to Bangkok. Rixhon, a Belgian, had been directing the Ford Foundation's Philippines training programs in Manila. He managed the council's fellowship program in Asia vigorously and carefully, bringing to it the benefit of his training as an anthropologist and his many years of experience in Asia. He took over the program after it had operated for 7 years; 66 fellows were enrolled in study programs. At the time of the merger in 1985, 244 fellows had received awards for study in Asia.

Table 9. A/D/C Asian fellowship program placements, 1970-1976.

Country	Institution	Number of Fellows
Australia	University of New England/Armidale	4
India	Andhra University	1
	Punjab Agricultural University	1
	Tamil Nadu Agricultural University	1
Indonesia	Bandung School of Social Welfare	3
Lebanon	American University of Beirut	2
Malaysia	Universiti Pertanian Malaysia	3
	Universiti Sains Malaysia	2
Philippines	Ateneo de Manila University	1
	University of the Philippines at Diliman	7
	University of the Philippines at Los Baños	22
Taiwan	National Taiwan University	1
Thailand	Kasetsart University	1
	Thammasat University	5
	TOTAL	54

This impressive record was made possible by a solid base of financial support that came largely from two sources; the Canadian government's International Development Research Centre and the Australian Development Assistance Bureau. The council's proposed regional network of activities in Asia had struck a responsive chord in the center's president, W. David Hopper, and by 1972 the first of a series of generous support grants had been approved. The bureau, which began its support in 1978, continued its subsidy even after the merger at a level of $275,000 a year.

Other donors provided limited support for fellowships within the program. Beginning in 1976, USAID allocated monies for Nepalese fellows as part of the council's Nepal project. The Ford Foundation's Dhaka office supported a number of fellows from Bangladesh. In 1983, the IBM Corporation gave a grant of $60,000 for partial support of fellowships over 3 years, and in 1984 the Skaggs Foundation met costs for two fellows from Sri Lanka.

THE LATER YEARS

By 1978 it became evident that the U.S. fellowship program could not be maintained as in the past. The council was facing a financial crisis. Few funds were available for new awards, with their commitment of 4 to 5 years for each doctoral candidate. Thus, arrangements were made to finance to completion those few fellows who remained in the U.S. program. In 1983, however, as part of new council pro-

grams with special financing, several new awards for study in the United States were made to fellows from China, Côte d'Ivoire, and Nepal.

The Asian fellowship program remained as robust as ever. Donor support continued and during the final period, from 1978 to 1985, 20 to 25 new awards were made each year.

EVALUATION

Many elements of the agricultural development process lend themselves to evaluation; crop-production levels, fertilizer responses, or the improvement of genetic strains can readily be measured. But evaluating training and measuring its net effect on individuals' later performance is far more difficult. With training so central to its work, however, the council sought by various means to assess the strengths and shortcomings of its fellowship program and other training programs.

Council staff, over the years, produced literature on the issue of training (Wharton, 1959; Ruttan and Weisblat, 1965; Lewis, 1967; Kearl, 1973; Stevenson, 1975). Improving training was a recurring topic at the annual staff conferences. Interviews with fellows during and after their periods of study generated important insights. On a number of occasions, the council sponsored major conferences in which American and Asian academics discussed the nature and pertinence of current graduate programs for Asian students. The research and training network collaborated with the international committee of the American Agricultural Economics Association in two studies of U.S. training for international agricultural development (Schertz et al., 1976; Fienup and Riley, 1980).

In 1969, at Wharton's initiative, the council convened three seminars over several months at different locations to discuss international training issues and to explore the possibility of establishing a prototype graduate school. Such a school would be designed, uniquely, to serve the interests of future Asian teachers, researchers, and administrators. It would be allied to a major U.S. university as the degree-granting body. This proposal never went beyond the discussion stage for lack of funding.

Outside observers also evaluated the council's fellowship program. Walter P. Falcon (1976) prepared a report on the council in which he rated the program highly.

> The fellowship program is perceived as a significant contribution because; (1) these are often the only fellowships available to train rural social scientists; (2) the selection procedure of A/D/C fellowship is perceived as fair, and the priority on individuals rather than on

institutions resulted in the selection of the best available candidates; and (3) the majority of A/D/C fellows are working in national institutions and have not contributed to a "brain drain."

John P. Lewis (1977) wrote,

> If the country associates have been the backbone of A/D/C, its hallmark has been a particularly successful fellowship program—good selection and placement, careful, highly knowledgeable monitoring, a good record of academic success, an unrivaled rate of retrieval, good follow-up by A/D/C with fellows who, for the most part, have notable records of postdoctoral achievement.

A broader study was undertaken in 1981 by a team composed of John W. Mellor, Edward Schuh, Mahar Mangahas, and Rounaq Jahan. And Abraham M. Weisblat and Kearl attempted to evaluate the graduate training of a large sample of students from the developing world, all former fellowship holders under A/D/C, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre of Canada, and USAID.

By one criterion in particular the council's fellowship program was an outstanding success; the return rate of its fellows. Of the 532 individuals listed in the 1983 *Directory of Fellows*, 91% returned home to resume their careers after completing their studies.

A few individuals left their study programs prematurely and others failed to meet the final degree requirements. A small number refused to return home, settling in the west. But these were the exceptions in a group of remarkably serious and dedicated men and women bent on making the most of their professional training at home.

The council was successful in both of its areas of major responsibility—the selection process and follow-up with fellows on their return to Asia. Any evaluation of the quality of the training itself, however, depends more on the institutions that provided the training and the content and quality of their graduate social science programs than on the activities of the council.

The council's evaluative literature produced general agreement on a range of issues that, in different ways, affected the graduate training the council underwrote. The following are the points of agreement:

- Prerequisites for graduate training include
  a. good command of English
  b. academic promise
  c. age of 30 or under at beginning of program
  d. adequate grasp of mathematics and statistics
- Desired elements in graduate programs for Asians include
  a. student involvement in host department as research or teaching assistant
  b. option for a term of study at another university

c. opportunity for travel in host country
d. balance between depth and breadth, solid grounding in the major field, exposure to related fields
e. faculty interested in international development problems
f. existing courses broadened to give greater attention to conditions that apply in Asian countries
g. thesis research in the student's home country or on a home-country problem

- Building for career growth includes
  a. assistance in getting teaching materials (books and journals)
  b. research encouragement
  c. promotion of regional cooperation
  d. retraining opportunities

Falcon (1976) and Mellor et al. (1981) applauded the council's fellowship programs. They remarked that the A/D/C roster of fellows constitutes a *Who's Who* of the rural social sciences in Asia, encompassing not only academic teachers and researchers but also high-level civil servants—a large company of men and women who are today working on human-resource and economic development and are active in training others.

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Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.

THE INTERREGIONAL PROGRAM

From 1953 to 1969, A/D/C developed programs country by country. Each associate and visiting professor had one primary country of assignment. Each fellowship or research grant was awarded within a particular country. When the council's president, trustees, field staff, or Asian colleagues discussed new program initiatives, they tended to respond to a priority need in a specific country.

In the late 1960s, the council noted changes in Asia that called for new approaches and program designs. By that time, for example, an increasing number of social scientists—many of them former A/D/C fellows—had completed advanced training abroad and were professionally active in their own countries. Institutions interested in the agricultural and rural development problems of their region no longer needed to search abroad for the expert talent required to address such problems.

Another change was the rapid growth of training opportunities within Asia. A large number of universities were offering graduate-degree programs in the rural social sciences, most notably in agricultural economics and to a lesser extent in sociology and rural education and extension.

Research priorities were also changing. Although the new agricultural technologies offered the promise of production increases, they also generated economic and social problems that required the attention of the social scientist. Issues of marketing, credit, water resources, and extension assumed new importance along with problems of policy and planning for the agricultural sector.

The new generation of improved plant varieties from the green revolution created a new set of economic, social, and human problems (Wharton, 1969a).

The council saw this changing time as one of promise and opportunity. Given Asia's enhanced training facilities, challenging research agenda, and growing reservoir of local talent, a fruitful approach seemed to be to cut across country lines and make a start in helping individual social scientists view their work—whether testing, train-

ing, or research—in a regional rather than single-country context. Certain problems were common across Asia; for example, the Indonesian agricultural economist studying rural-credit arrangements might gain useful insights by conferring with colleagues in neighboring countries who had similar research interests. In the late 1960s the council was struggling with the antecedents to networking, which was to become a popular program device in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The council had already supported some interregional exchange activities. In 1958, it made the first of a series of grants to the International Association of Agricultural Economists in support of the IAAE's triennial conferences, at which scientists from around the world met to share information on current development problems and research findings. For a number of A/D/C fellows and former fellows, participating in an IAAE conference was a first opportunity to engage in professional discussions with peers from neighboring countries in Asia and from other parts of the world.

In the early years, A/D/C also awarded the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN a series of grants in support of annual farm-management conferences. These meetings, held at locations in Asia, drew together farm-management specialists from many countries. The council supported the travel of some of these specialists and, from time to time, enabled some Asian social scientists to visit other countries in the region to observe agricultural institutions and practices, exchange information, and undertake collaborative research.

Another evidence of the council's interregional interest was the training materials project. (See chapter 2.) Between 1962 and 1966, the project prepared and published a broad range of teaching materials for an Asia-wide audience. The materials were designed to help practitioners of agricultural and rural development, wherever they lived, achieve a better understanding of their common and separate problems and devise better ways of dealing with them.

Another council interregional initiative came in 1965: a major conference to bridge the social sciences in the developed and developing worlds. The Conference on Peasant and Subsistence Economics (see chapter 5), held jointly with the East-West Center, demonstrated how scientists of varying disciplines and from many parts of the world can work together to throw light on difficult issues. (See also Wharton, 1969b.)

The subsistence conference was followed, in 1968, by a new training venture in which the agricultural officers of six Malaysian states traveled under council auspices to the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand to study methods of promoting agricultural development. And in 1969, Ardron B. Lewis and Herman M. Southworth organized an intensive training and research activity that drew together 34 participants from Japan, Korea, Malaysia, and Taiwan. The aim of the

10-day workshop on the problems of marketing agricultural products was to explore techniques for conducting research on market systems and estimating future supply and demand for commodities.

HOW IT BEGAN

In 1970 the council formally began to broaden and strengthen its interregional efforts in response to the changing Asian scene. The new program was called the *regional research and training program.* (The official title was reasonable; however, the arc of countries with which the council was concerned, which stretched from Pakistan around to Japan and included 18 countries, was really an area of many regions. Thus, over the years A/D/C staff and others came to refer to the endeavor as the interregional program.) It was to have many dimensions: It would draw on the talents of the social science community already established in Asia; it would help to strengthen local training institutions as they improved the rigor and relevance of their instruction; and it would open up opportunities for collaborative research on pressing economic and human problems.

As a first step, an Asian interregional headquarters was established in Bangkok in March 1970 in offices provided by the faculty of economics and business administration at Kasetsart University. Bryant E. Kearl, vice chancellor of the University of Wisconsin and specialist in agricultural communication, joined the council to work with A/D/C's network of associates on a program of seminars and workshops, intercountry exchanges of scholars and leaders in agricultural policy, cooperation in the development of teaching plans and materials, and fellowships for post-baccalaureate study within the Asian region. Shao-er Ong, then an agricultural economist and farm-management specialist with the Food and Agriculture Organization, joined Kearl and focused initially on in-service training efforts for agricultural policy leaders and professionals. Ong soon became council associate for Thailand, replacing A. Russell Stevenson, who had returned to the New York office.

Within a year, the council began considering alternatives for the permanent location of the interregional office. Kasetsart University, the college of agriculture at the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, and the Malaysian college of agriculture at Serdang all offered space at marginal cost. However, because of the new program's interregional character and the need to work with many universities and agencies, the council felt that a neutral site was important. Singapore was chosen because of its good communications and easy air access to all of Southeast Asia. In 1971 Kearl set up shop in the Regional English

Language Center International House, with Singaporeans Judith Low, **Goh Young Lin,** and later Gladys Gwee as support staff. Ong remained in Bangkok, where he continued his work on in-service training and devoted an increasing amount of time to his responsibilities as associate for Thailand and, later, Nepal.

One of A/D/C's first efforts to assess regional needs was a conference at which 35 rural social scientists from 11 Asian countries met "to discuss their experience as graduate students in the U.S...and to evaluate its usefulness at home" (A/D/C, 1970). Meeting in Bangkok for 3 days of talks, the group concluded (A/D/C, 1970):

> Generally speaking...U.S. graduate education prepares them well for discipline-oriented research that meets international scholarly standards. It does not prepare them as well for the conduct of applied research on urgent problems of development, particularly those that cut across disciplinary lines. In most cases, it does little directly to equip them to take leadership in agricultural development policy making or in program administration. It prepares them to teach courses in theory and research methodology, but does very little to equip them to teach applied subjects to either undergraduate or graduate students.

Despite this assessment, conference participants highly valued the personal and professional contacts they had made with many Americans, the diversity of courses and research interests made available to them, and their introduction to current U.S. problems and to the social science methods that have helped define and solve such problems.

A fundamental question emerged from the Bangkok conference: If gaps were found in the training of Asian students who had pursued graduate programs abroad, what alternatives might be available for training in Asia? A number of options emerged, including graduate-study programs in Asia, special shortcourses on topics of current interest and importance, additional library resources, development and exchange of teaching materials, and opportunities to interact with peers throughout Asia. Opportunities to interact were considered important in overcoming the problem of isolation, inevitable when a few social scientists in distant parts of each country had to serve different agencies and deal with competing job demands. Exchanges across regions offered opportunities to meet, learn from, and cooperate with peers and colleagues.

During his 4 years of leadership, Kearl brought great energy and skill to the task of giving life to program ideas and suggestions. And with the help of the council associates and visiting professors who offered the program their time, commitment, and first-hand knowledge of talented people and local needs, Kearl was able to put the pieces together into an integrated program.

Under Kearl's direction, 34 fellows were given awards and placed

at Asian institutions. (See chapter 3.) When Kearl returned to the United States in 1974, 35 seminars or conferences had been planned or convened and some 30 individuals had traveled outside of their own countries as visiting professors or consultants at Asian universities or government agencies. Such international networking, taken for granted today, was at that time rare.

In developing an array of timely publications, Kearl was able to draw on his experience as a journalist and editor. The *Teaching Forum* series, which was distributed to teachers, reprinted articles from social science journals and other sources for classroom use. A set of nine booklets on research methodology was prepared for the beginning researcher. A four-volume set, *Economic Theory and Practice in the Asian Setting* (1975), took 3 years to complete and involved economists from eight countries.

From its second year on, the interregional program benefited from the encouragement and financial support of its principal donor, Canada's International Development Research Centre. W. David Hopper, the center's first president, was a friend and former colleague of Mosher's in India. Hopper knew the council well, and he came to see that the proposed set of interregional activities fit the center's initial objectives—such as supporting development projects in the third world, including Asia—nearly perfectly. The center's social science division worked closely with Mosher and Kearl to monitor the activities of the interregional program and arrange for its ongoing support.

NEW FACES, NEW GROWTH

In 1974, Ralph H. Retzlaff was recruited by A/D/C's new president, Vernon W. Ruttan, to replace Kearl. Retzlaff, then associate director of the University of California's Institute of International Studies, was a political scientist with broad interests in the social sciences and the policy aspects of rural development. His background included substantial field experience in India.

A full schedule was already waiting for Retzlaff when he arrived in Singapore. First, he had to maintain the activities that Kearl had set in motion such as seminars, workshops, research proposals, professional exchanges, and publications. The administration of the Asian fellowship program required immediate attention: at that time, 29 graduate assistants from 11 countries were studying at 10 Asian universities.

The office needed additional staff, so Retzlaff brought in Jane Harris in 1975 as the Asian fellowship officer. **K. Vanida Tulalamba** was recruited to take on accounting and administrative duties. Gwee

and **Toon Jin Kin,** who had worked with Kearl, continued to provide secretarial and other assistance.

Later that year, **Harlan C. Lampe,** a resource economist and an expert on fisheries from the University of Rhode Island, began an 8-month assignment with the council as a research consultant. In collaboration with associates and the Singapore staff, he helped to define research and training priorities for aspects of artisanal fisheries and fresh- and brackish-water aquaculture in Asia.

Still later, **Max R. Langham,** an agricultural economist from the University of Florida, joined the staff as research coordinator. Langham, who was on leave from the University Florida, worked in the Singapore office for a year and a half coordinating research-oriented seminars, assisting with individual research projects funded by the interregional program, and helping some of the graduate assistants in the Asian fellowship program with their thesis research. Langham had been coeditor of the *American Journal of Agricultural Economics.* His editorial expertise was reflected in the revised *Teaching and Research Forum* series and later in *Agricultural Sector Analysis in Asia,* a compilation of papers given at two regional seminars, which he edited with Retzlaff.

When the president's office moved to Singapore in 1975 and the staff increased, it seemed appropriate to put the council's reference library in Asia where the staff and Asian colleagues could use it. From J. Lossing Buck's day onward, this collection of professional materials —over 15,000 books, journals, reports, and research studies related to agricultural and rural development—had been enlarged yearly and carefully maintained.

The 1970s saw the interregional program begin, grow, and flourish. The group of gifted individuals who served the program not only made it possible for Asian teachers, researchers, and development specialists to work together in new ways but also laid the foundation for future long-term cooperation. The task of fashioning specific interregional programs was often complex. Selecting and placing fellows in Asian universities, arranging seminars, evaluating research proposals, preparing materials for publication—these varied activities required a great deal of patience.

At times complications arose from the council's style of operating primarily through the associates and visiting professors in their various country locations. It was the associate, working with the A/D/C president, who normally initiated country activities, and there was no inclination to set that pattern aside. Associates often were stretched thin keeping on top of their work. Their own research and country demands at times delayed or prevented response to requests from the interregional office. Yet without such response a prospective fellow's papers could not be processed nor a professional exchange arranged.

Another complicating factor inherent in the Asian professional scene was the limited availability of experienced social scientists. Many of the better ones faced competing demands on their time. A graduate assistant might be delayed by 6 months in completing thesis research because the faculty advisor was on an FAO assignment abroad. A seminar planned months ahead might be postponed indefinitely when one or two key participants were suddenly not free to attend.

Working in Asia presented some difficulties to those who were used to doing business in the West. It was not easy to keep in touch with colleagues spread across thousands of miles and located in a score of countries. A fellowship officer sitting in an office in Bangkok could not rely on the phone nor expect a quick reply from a third world professor who had neither secretarial help nor funds for international postage or telegrams. And travel delays were common, especially to more remote areas.

PROGRAM COMPONENTS

The interregional program staff used a variety of means and approaches to bring about cooperation and collaboration among Asian social scientists. All of these efforts were, in the words of the council's credo, "to enable selected individuals to increase their competence to deal with the economic and human aspects of agricultural and rural development."

Individual Research Grants

Research is best learned by doing. When the interregional program began, many Asian professionals had to be encouraged to undertake independent research. Others wanted to study topics for which no local support was available. Still others needed to fulfill a thesis requirement.

The program considered a variety of proposals for individual research of varying types and funded many of them. Each proposal had to present a clearly defined purpose, describe the design and methodology to be used, give a budget, project a time frame for completion, and designate a supervisor. The projects dealt with a wide range of topics, countries, and settings. (See table 10.)

Table 10. Examples of research projects supported by the regional research and training program.

Author	Country	Title
A. M. Anwarul Karim	Bangladesh	An analysis of the repayment performance of production credit by rice growers in Laguna Province
Khin Maung Khi	Burma	A survey of agricultural production on Burmese paddy farms
Sukartawia*	Indonesia	Income, employment, and ecological change in rural villages located in marginal areas of East Java
Sediona M. P. Tjondra-negoro	Indonesia	The organizational phenomenon and planned development in a rural community on Java
Ki-yong Hong	Korea	Schooling investment in extension and agricultural productivity in Korea
Young Chul Kim	Korea	A study of credit use and resource allocation on small farms: A Korean case
Leela Pathak	Nepal	Employment in Nepalese agriculture
Christina C. David	Philippines	Social benefit and cost of improving the Philippine agriculturalstatistical reporting system
Janaki Ranmuthugala	Sri Lanka	School dropouts and their impact on agricultural development in Sri Lanka
Chatt Chamchong	Thailand	A spatial-temporal analysis of the Thai sugar industry

*Conducted with a team of junior and senior staff members of Brawijaya University.

In-service Training

Despite Ong's reminders that in-service training was an efficient short-run means of upgrading the skills of large numbers of workers in government agencies or universities, this sort of training often failed to get the attention it needed. From time to time, the council did support such efforts, sometimes making arrangements for people to participate in in-service training programs conducted by other agencies.

In 1972, the interregional program underwrote an in-service training program that demonstrated the value of the approach and that might have led to replications if the necessary funding and personnel had been available. Somnuk Sriplung, chief of the Thai ministry of agriculture's division of agricultural economics, requested the council's assistance in organizing a program for members of his division. A number of staff members who were responsible for research and

statistical tasks were to help set up a new agricultural planning section. They needed special training, but they needed to get it without disrupting the normal flow of the division's work.

With Ong's assistance, Somnuk organized and supervised a series of courses, conducted in four intensive sessions spread over 1972 and 1973, for 32 division staff members who had B.Sc. degrees. Somnuk himself taught one of the courses and other instructors were recruited from nearby universities. The program focused on using data for research. In addition to training the participants, the course work made it possible to evaluate students' potential through classroom exercises, examinations, and outside assignments. The courses included mathematics for economists, statistical methods, survey design, quantitative price analysis, marketing research methods, econometrics, linear economic models, production economics, and development economics. Instruction also was offered in English and report writing.

Seminars and Workshops

The interregional program's seminars and workshops helped to build a more vigorous academic and research community in Asia. As early as 1971, more than 200 individuals had participated in seminars sponsored by the program or, with the program's support, in seminars sponsored by other agencies.

Seminars were most effective when A/D/C associates worked closely with the interregional office's staff to identify particpants and shape the activity. Participants included graduate students, college and university instructors, researchers, government-agency staff members—a cross-section of the professional community that the council served.

Seminar scheduling patterns varied. Some seminars and workshops met only once; there was no planned follow up, but participants often maintained personal contact and later shared teaching or research information. A pattern the council preferred and encouraged was the seminar series. A seminar would delineate a problem or set of problems; a professional peer group would be identified and, gradually, enlarged; more meetings would be planned; and members of the group would agree to initiate or continue a particular line of research.

Professional Exchanges

In its interregional program, the council also arranged professional exchanges among universities. Although graduate programs were being developed at many universities in the region, Asian aca-

Regional Research and Training Program Seminar Series

The seminar series was designed to identify an important issue, locate and gather together researchers interested in the topic, and enable the group to continue to meet to share ideas and findings as they pursued their investigations. The following are a few examples of the way such series evolved.

Farm mechanization. In 1971, under the leadership of Herman M. Southworth, a group of engineers and economists from Korea, Taiwan, and Japan met in Tokyo to review research on farm mechanization. A similar session was held the following year in Penang. In 1979, in Sapporo, a research and training network seminar, held in cooperation with the Japan Center for International Exchange, focused again on this topic; follow-up meetings were held in 1982 in the People's Republic of China at Hangzhou and Beijing.

Research methodology. One of the most productive groups that A/D/C organized dealt with the conduct of social science research. Scholars from Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States produced a number of Asia-oriented teaching and reference materials and stimulated further seminars for Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East.

Planning and development. Interest in planning for development began in the 1960s, when A/D/C worked with Philippine governmental and private groups on planning for integrated rural development in the Bicol region. Arthur T. Mosher's 1966 book, *Getting Agriculture Moving*, greatly stimulated thinking on this topic. In Malaysia in the early 1970s Milton L. Barnett worked on the staffing and strategy of agricultural development, organizing visits of Malaysian farmers-association and credit leaders to Taiwan and helping a visiting Indonesian group become acquainted with Malaysian programs and policies. A Honolulu seminar on agricultural administration was followed by one on regional differentiation for planning purposes in Los Baños. In late 1973, A/D/C cooperated with Taiwan's Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction in an international seminar that reviewed agriculture's role in development.

Irrigation. As the council's associate in south India, Donald C. Taylor became interested in problems of irrigation systems, a concern that continued to be foremost in his research when he moved on to Indonesia and Malaysia. A 1973 seminar at Los Baños dealt with irrigation systems research, and the next year a Taipei meeting focused on organization for water management. Typical of other activities promoted by Taylor was a visit to Malaysia by a Sri Lanka resettlement and irrigation group. Largely as a result of Taylor's efforts, a vigorous professional network evolved that continued to generate materials for publication and that circulated a newsletter to some 600 researchers and practitioners.

Home and household economics. Beginning in 1974, Barnett promoted professionalism in home economics through a series of intercountry exchanges involving Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. In 1974, Shao-er Ong, with the help of Ruth Kearl, arranged a similar exchange between home economists in Nepal and Thailand. The field was significantly broadened by a seminar on household economics held in Manila in 1977 in collaboration with the Philippine Agricultural Economics Association and the Philippine Economics Society. Forty-two participants reviewed past and current Philippine research—on household decisions, home production, time allocation, and children— topics within an emerging field termed the *new household economics*.

Coastal-zone management. An artisanal-fisheries seminar at Jakarta in 1974 gave early evidence of the council's interest in coastal-zone management. Not long afterward, an organizing meeting for experts was convened to develop a research network for future cooperation. Development experts, policymakers, and administrators in national governments and international agencies examined the potential and the fragility of the coastal zone in follow-up seminars that were convened in 1978, 1979, and 1980.

Teaching of farm management. Beginning in 1975, the teaching of farm management was the focus of a series of seminars held over 4 years. Participants in the first seminar of this series, all of whom taught farm-management courses at Asian institutions, agreed on the limited value of teaching materials then available for these courses. Over several meetings, more suitable materials were identified, reviewed, and evaluated, and the result was the book *Readings in Asian Farm Management* (Tan and Ong, 1979).

demic departments continued to request outside help in handling certain courses. In the past, filling such requests had often been costly, inappropriate, or both: British, European, or American universities that provided visiting instructors too often sent individuals who were poorly equipped to provide suitable training.

The council, through its network of associates and visiting professors, was generally aware of research or teaching needs in a particular academic department. The interregional program identified and supported Asian professionals from other Asian institutions who were qualified and willing to take on short-term teaching or research assignments.

The first Asian scholar selected for such an exchange was Francis Chan of the University of Singapore. Chan was enlisted for 6 months to teach a new course at the Institut Pertanian Bogor in Indonesia. His support included travel, housing, life and health insurance, and a salary equivalent to that of an assistant professor at an American university.

Exchange arrangements did not always proceed smoothly. There were many details to be addressed and many opportunities for problems to arise. The receiving institution had to indicate its acceptance of the candidate; the visiting professor or consultant had to make the leave arrangements at home; the terms of the assignment had to be negotiated; and the council had to assure itself that the absence of the person selected would not work a hardship on the home department or agency. Occasional obstacles notwithstanding, the interregional program arranged a number of professional exchanges. (See table 11.)

Publications

The interregional program produced a large number of publications on a wide variety of topics. (See appendix C.) Works that emanated from the interregional program office were addressed primarily to the social science community in Asia and included books, monographs, seminar reports, pamphlets, and the special *Teaching and Research Forum* series (originally titled *Teaching Forum*).

The *Forum* series probably best illustrates the council's aim of making available materials that were relevant to Asian conditions. Before the start of the interregional program, most of the materials prepared or reprinted by the council were of western origin. The *Forum* series put into circulation reprints of journal articles and research reports that addressed Asian problems and concerns. Since many of the publications had limited original distribution, the reprints were produced in large enough quantities that they could be used in classrooms.

Table 11. Interregional professional exchanges.

Name Last known affiliation	Year appointed	Exchange appointment/activities
Faisal Kasryno Agroeconomic Survey, Indonesia	1973	Muda Agricultural Development Authority, Alor Setar, Malaysia. Research assistant.
Taraben Patel Gujarat University, Indonesia	1973	University of the Philippines, Los Baños. Visiting professor of rural sociology.
Pedro Sandoval University of the Philippines, Los Baños	1973	Malaysian Agricultural University, Serdang. Consulted on planning and establishment of new Faculty of Resource Economics and Agribusiness and designed courses for the faculty; assisted in staff training; advised on farm management research.
D. K. Desai Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad	1974	Kasetsart University, Thailand. Visiting professor of business management.
Halim Khan Aligarh University, India	1975	Institute of Ecology, Bandung, Indonesia. Visiting professor of ecology.
Sun Yik Ching Hong Kong University	1975	Institute Pertanian Bogor, Indonesia. Taught computer programming course.
Andi Hakim Nasoetion Institut Pertanian Bogor Indonesia	1976	Philippine Social Science Council. Short-term consultancy in research methods.
Keizo Tsuchiya Kyushu University, Japan	1976	Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand. Visiting professor of agricultural economics.
L. S. Venkataramanan Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, India	1977	University of the Philippines, School of Economics, Diliman. Visiting professor of agricultural economics.

Forum publications were classified under topics such as land and water economics and policies; spread of innovation; marketing, price analysis, and trade; curriculum and teaching; or development processes and planning. The first issue, which was released in April 1971, was a paper by H. W. West of Cambridge University, "Land Registration: Some Current Policies and Problems." The paper had been presented the year before at a national seminar on land reform in Nepal. From this first issue until the demise of the series in 1979, 72 papers, articles, and reports were printed and distributed. The last item in the series was a reprint of an article by council associate Donald C. Taylor, "Farm Management: Its Role in Alleviating Institutional Constraints Facing Asian Small Farms," which had appeared in the December 1978 issue of the *Bangladesh Journal of Agricultural Economics*.

Participants in a farm management workshop visit Indian farmers, 1964.

WINDING UP

In June 1981, Gerard Rixhon succeeded Retzlaff as director of interregional programs. Rixhon spent most of his time managing the fellowship program, which by then had 55 fellows; however, with Tulalamba's assistance, Rixhon not only directed the continuing seminar and workshop program but oversaw its expansion into new areas. Between 1981 and 1985, 16 professional meetings were sponsored directly by the interregional program or were partially subsidized by program support of individual participants.

During that time, council programs were initiated in two new geographical areas. In 1980, **S. Lee Travers** began an assignment as a research scholar at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. He was joined there in 1983 by **Peter H. Calkins.** Meanwhile, in the fall of 1982, **Paul T. Perrault** had become the council's first staff member in Africa; he was assigned to the Center for Economic and Social Research of the University of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Because of these new developments, the interregional program presented several seminars dealing with development issues related to China and West Africa. For example, in 1981 a seminar at Abidjan dealt with improving the development effectiveness of food aid in Africa. The following year a seminar was held in Hangzhou, China, on the mechanization of small-scale peasant farming. And in 1984, a second seminar was

held in Abidjan on curriculum development for graduate studies in agricultural economics in francophone Africa.

The program continued to make a few small research grants. Increasingly the grants came from funds available for research in the country-program budgets for Nepal and Bangladesh that were underwritten by USAID and the Ford Foundation. The publications and the professional exchanges were discontinued.

Several factors combined to bring about a decline in activities in the interregional program. The A/D/C staff was operating at minimum strength while the president and other New York staff members were devoting most of their attention to raising funds and developing new programs in China and Africa. And the range of activities of the interregional program was severely curtailed as support from the International Development Research Centre diminished. (Funds that continued from ADAB were earmarked for fellowships.)

For 15 years the interregional program made it possible for a large circle of social scientists to cross national and cultural lines and to view common development problems from varied perspectives. Individual and collaborative research were strengthened. The wide dissemination of instructional materials made for better teaching. Although the fellowship program had a significant impact on its participants, it touched only a small group of Asians. The interregional program added balance to A/D/C's efforts by reaching a much wider audience, and many who contributed to the interregional program left footprints that will remain visible for a long time.

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RESEARCH NETWORKS

By 1962 the council had a program that made full use of its annual income. Administering that program brought the A/D/C staff into frequent contact with needs and opportunities that the council had too few resources to handle. The council's work also brought it into contact with many rural social scientists in the United States who were eager to work on problems in Asian countries but lacked the opportunity to do so. Some needed financial grants; others needed professional contacts in Asia. The council responded to this situation by setting up a new program.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES RESEARCH PROGRAM

Financed largely by a grant of $1 million from the Ford Foundation, the American universities research program was administered by A/D/C and consisted of three sets of activities:

- seminars and workshops in which participants discussed research projects that they might undertake in a developing country
- financial support for studies
- a series of related publications

For its first few months in 1963, the research program was administered by Arthur T. Mosher with help from **Ernest C. Young,** who had recently retired from Purdue University, and Ralph H. Allee, a council associate then in New York between field assignments. In the summer of 1964, Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., was made the program's director. By the end of that year, nine research seminars had been held involving 121 people from 45 universities. Twenty-one research grants, averaging $4,702 and totaling $98,741, were approved for 22 professors from 18 universities.

A Representative Year

The activities of 1967 illustrate the research program's scope and character. At a June seminar convened at East Lansing, Michigan, on planning agricultural development, case studies were presented by J. Price Gittinger, formerly an A/D/C associate but then with the National Planning Association; Glenn L. Johnson of Michigan State University; and Dwight Brothers of Harvard University. These studies (which dealt respectively with Iran, Nigeria, and Mexico) focused on research needs and priorities. Participants recommended research on the following topics:

- transferring income out of agriculture
- increasing production of food crops
- analyzing the efficiencies of policy alternatives
- designing programs to use available trained personnel
- collecting agricultural statistics
- planning local or regional development

Twenty-three participants met in October 1967 at Madison, Wisconsin, to consider social and political movements of rural peoples in relation to agricultural development. The group discussed papers by Henry Landsberger of Cornell University, "An Approach to the Study of Peasant Organizations in the Course of Socio-political Development"; by Arcadius Kahan of the University of Chicago, "Forms of Peasant Revolution: Eastern Europe as a Case Study"; and by Louis H. Douglas and Wayne Rohrer of Kansas State University, "The Place of Governments in Reform Movements."

Occasionally the research program worked with another agency to cosponsor a seminar. For example, in the summer of 1967, the Ford Foundation and the research program jointly convened a meeting in Cuernavaca, Mexico, "Latin American Agricultural Development." Twenty-nine participants from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and the United States discussed a set of reports that described the state of agricultural development and related policy problems in several Latin American countries. These reports were the basis for discussions on research priorities in marketing, price policy, agricultural inputs, extension programs, and land tenure. The meeting gave U.S. and Latin American researchers an opportunity to exchange ideas on problems of agricultural development in countries in which they had worked or were working. It also opened up possibilities for future collaboration in multicountry research and set in motion ongoing personal communication.

Two workshops, in September and November, drew together a dozen participants to design a study on the special problems of training rural sociologists for international work. The research pro-

gram funded the meetings and the study, which was carried out by Lee Taylor and William Reeder of Cornell and J. J. Mangalam of the University of Guelph.

In 1967, 37 grants were made that averaged about $7,000 and ranged from $500 to $15,950. The researchers represented a variety of colleges and universities, and the projects that were funded were carried out in many parts of the world. (See table 12.)

Conference on Subsistence and Peasant Economics

An outstanding achievement of the research program was its 5-day conference, "Subsistence and Peasant Economics," which was held in 1965 at the University of Hawaii and was sponsored jointly by the East-West Center's Institute of Advanced Projects and A/D/C. Wharton, who organized and chaired the conference, spent most of the preceding year enlisting the participation of 40 leading specialists who represented 12 disciplines and came from 11 countries. Presenting the conference plan and program to the A/D/C trustees (A/D/C, 1964), Wharton wrote:

> One of the major changes that must take place as part of the process of agricultural development is the increasing commercialization of agricultural production. Farm operators must make more and more purchases of equipment and supplies to be used in the production process, and they must produce more and more crops for sale in the market.
>
> The science of economics and its techniques of analysis over the past several generations have been based upon this participation in the market, this buying and selling. Many noneconomists and some economists have continuously pointed out that, at early stages of agricultural technology, much of productive activity is for home consumption, that considerations of the market do not always apply, and that this is one reason why farm operations in such agricultural societies do not always behave in the way that the "principles" of economics would indicate.

Because subsistence farming is widespread in Southeast Asia, it made sense for the council to take the lead in furthering the work of people concerned with this issue. The participants in what came to be known as *the subsistence conference* were able to exchange ideas and compare current theoretical and applied research.

John D. Rockefeller 3rd formally opened the conference, thereby confirming his interest in the problems of development and his support for research and training efforts to find their solutions. Rockefeller, who was then the council's chairman, noted the "tragic and growing imbalance...between the world's agricultural output and its population" and underlined the importance of increased food production.

Table 12. Representative grants, American universities research program, 1967.

Research topic	Grantee and affiliation	Amount (US$)
Stages of Malayan rice production: A feasibility study	James D. Clarkson, L.A.P. Gosling, and Gayl D. Ness Department of Geography University of Michigan	2,000
An economic evaluation of marketing alternatives for agricultural produce from Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) schemes in Malaysia	Bradford D. Crossman Department of Agriculture and Food Economics University of Massachusetts	5,740
Simulation approach to population growth rates and economic development in a rural community	Phillips W. Foster Department of Agricultural Economics University of Maryland	6,341
An investigation of innovations as related to diversification of agricultural land use on coffee fincas in Colombia	S. E. Grigsby Center for Tropical Agriculture University of Florida	6,080
The Lower Mouloyya irrigation project: An analysis of the social structural constraints on capital formation and entrepreneurial development in present communities	Robert T. Holt Department of Political Science University of Minnesota	14,835
Sources and rates of productivity gains in Japanese agriculture, 1880-1965	Hiromitsu Kaneda Department of Economics University of California, Davis	750
Participation, leadership, and decision making in present organizations of developing countries: An exploratory study of some correlates	Henry A. Landsberger Department of Industrial and Labor Relations Cornell University	13,000
Perception of opportunity and investment in agriculture: A case study of the 14 municipios comprising Zona Cristalina do Norte in Sao Paulo State	Armin K. Ludwig Department of Geography Colgate University	1,984
A cultural ecology survey of the Baganda of Uganda	Michael C. Robbins Department of Sociology and Anthropology Pennsylvania State University	2,300
Economic and institutional factors affecting fertilizer distribution and use in Thailand, with special reference to the northeastern region	Eldon D. Smith Department of Agricultural Economics University of Kentucky	2,000
Economic development through agrarian reform: A case study in Nepal	John F. Timmons Department of Economics Iowa State University	8,456
Comparative productivity of selected food-crop farming systems in tropical environments: Costa Rica	Robert F. Voertman Department of Economics Grinnell College	14,990

The papers presented at the conference were edited by Wharton and published in 1969 as *Subsistence Agriculture and Economic Development*. This book, which included summaries of the conference discussions, was widely reviewed in professional journals. Walter P. Falcon, writing in *Science*, commented:

> *Subsistence Agriculture and Economic Development* must be regarded as one of the two or three outstanding volumes for understanding peasant societies. Its strong micro focus and its interdisciplinary character provide an excellent starting point for further work on individual countries and on specific policy techniques. The editor's perceptive concluding chapter, "The Issues and a Research Agenda," helps to chart a plan of work that is useful and relevant for all those concerned with the social and economic development of poor countries.

The book was probably the most notable publication of the research program. Of importance as well, however, were seven monographs, issued between 1965 and 1970, each offering an inventory of research on agricultural development conducted in a different area of the world. (See table 13.)

Table 13. A/D/C monograph series on agricultural development research.

Author	Title	Year
Wharton, C. R., Jr.	Research on agricultural development in Southeast Asia	1965
Foster, P. W.	Research on agricultural development in North Africa	1967
McLoughlin, P. F. M.	Research on agricultural development in East Africa	1967
Taylor, D. C.	Research on agricultural development in selected Middle East countries	1968
Lombardo, H. A.	Research on agricultural development in Central America	1969
Eicher, C. K.	Research on agricultural development in 5 English-speaking countries in West Africa	1970
Schuh, F. E.	Research on agricultural development in Brazil	1970

The Program's Accomplishments

In its 7 years of operation, the research program undertook 55 seminars and workshops, which involved more than 500 agricultural development professionals and generated 135 research grants. But the program was more than numbers, more than the sum of its parts. Among a large community of agricultural economists and other social scientists, it opened new opportunities for cooperation and research. In doing this, it helped spark among American universities a more active concern for the problems of agricultural development.

When the research program's first 5 years ended, the Ford Foundation gave A/D/C a supplementary grant to continue the program for 2 more years. During that time, the council considered carefully whether it should seek financing for a longer period. A/D/C's staff members and their university colleagues agreed that it would be useful to continue the program; however, some shifts were called for. One immediate concern was to increase the relevance for Asian students of the curricular content of U.S. graduate programs in the rural social sciences. The research program was terminated when the second Ford grant was exhausted.

RESEARCH AND TRAINING NETWORK

It was soon evident that the American universities research program had met a need, and the program's termination in 1969 left a void. Early the next year, the American Agricultural Economics Association (AAEA) asked the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to finance a program "to strengthen the capacity of professionals in the field of agricultural economics and in related social science disciplines to contribute more effectively to development theory and practice, primarily by facilitating communication and cooperation among professors of different U.S. universities and personnel of public and private development agencies" (A/D/C, 1970).

The program that evolved from this proposal was called the *research and training network*, and it was administered by the council under a 5-year grant from USAID. The network differed from the research program in several ways. First, the network had no funds for small research grants; its activities were confined to professional meetings and training courses. Second, the network sought greater participation of third world social scientists and administrators. Third, research priorities were established as foci for the seminars and workshops. At the outset of the program, 10 topics were identified for primary attention; 5 of these emphasized theory and research:

- theoretical and empirical application of agricultural sectoral analysis and planning
- rural employment, income distribution, and development of institutions to deliver essential services
- water resource development
- rural marketing and trade
- allocation of resources to accelerate technological change

and 5 emphasized education and training:

- production incentives for farmers

- land policy for developing nations
- interrelationships of population, employment, and economic development
- administration of agricultural programs
- agricultural policies for developing countries

The network formed a steering committee composed of individuals representing USAID, AAEA, and A/D/C. The first group included Arthur Coutu of USAID's Technical Assistance Bureau, Carl Eicher of Michigan State University, Vernon W. Ruttan of the University of Minnesota, and Mosher of A/D/C.

Wayne A. Schutjer, an agricultural economist at Pennsylvania State University, took a leave of absence to direct the network during its first 18 months, beginning in 1971. Schutjer took over from Donald G. Green, who helped get the program under way. A flyer was mailed to a large potential audience announcing the new program and its research and training topics. Over 250 people responded, indicating interests that were fairly evenly divided between research and training priorities.

Gearing Up

The first major network activity was a teaching-oriented workshop held in December 1970 in New York. Discussing the educational requirements for the administration of agricultural programs, 11 participants identified a need for training courses for three groups of people:

- graduate students from developing countries who would later be involved in administration
- individuals who were just then undertaking administrative responsibilities in developing countries
- top-level administrators of Asian agricultural agencies

Workshop participants agreed, as a first step, to work on the development of in-service training materials for newly appointed administrators. Over the next few years, David W. Brown and Green took the lead in preparing lesson outlines and reading materials. Mosher's contribution was a book, *Serving Agriculture as an Administrator,* which the council published in 1975.

The network made a significant contribution to training by sponsoring, with the Land Tenure Center of the University of Wisconsin, a special course on land policy for developing nations. This 1-month course, held at the University of Wisconsin in the summer of 1972, gave an opportunity to 25 students from developing nations and U.S. students specializing in international development to focus on land-

policy issues. The students studied under a teaching team of six U.S. university professors. The course dealt with economic concepts related to land policy, consequences of alternate land-policy prescriptions, and land-policy planning and implementation techniques. In addition to the general lecture and discussion sessions, seminars were organized around field trips and policy issues specific to particular geographic areas. The course's teaching materials were later revised and made available for use in other land-policy courses.

The following year, a similar course on production incentives for developing nations was organized. This 5-week course conducted at Ohio State University was an outgrowth of a series of four earlier workshops. Economists, sociologists, and agricultural scientists worked together to develop reading lists, case studies, and other materials for use in the United States and developing nations. A teaching team headed by Dale Adams of Ohio State University's agricultural economics department was enlisted to prepare an outline covering different types of production incentives, reviewing the social and economic environment in which a farm operates, and describing the programs available for inducing appropriate changes. The course, which was offered for credit, was attended by U.S. and foreign graduate students. The course materials were later revised by a small group of professors from developing nations and made available for wider use.

During his tenure, Schutjer organized research-oriented workshops and seminars that identified priority problems within a given area and suggested suitable network follow up. Topics discussed included agricultural sector analysis, rural marketing and domestic trade, international trade, agricultural research-systems management, water-resource development, essential-services delivery, rural employment and income distribution, and small-farmer development.

In its first 2 years of operation, the network organized 36 workshops and seminars involving 353 participants, including U.S. and foreign faculty members and graduate students, council personnel, USAID staff, and representatives from development agencies such as the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Organization of American States, and Brookings Institution.

Network publications supplemented the program's meetings. The network's newsletter, mailed initially to a list of research program contacts, regularly listed graduate students' thesis research on international agricultural development topics and updated a roster of social science scholars temporarily resident in the United States. Seminar and workshop reports summarized important discussions and listed participants and papers presented.

Schutjer commented (personal communication, 1985),

> We...got the RTN geared up that first year and a half. My job was to get the program moving, and we did that...RTN was a major force in creating a community of scholars in the U.S. who became oriented toward international agricultural development.

Expanding the Program

Schutjer returned to Penn State in the summer of 1972, and Abraham M. Weisblat, who most recently had served as the council's associate in India, assumed responsibility for the network. Seminars, workshops, and publications continued to be the program's primary components, but several changes were introduced.

First, new topics of concern to the international development community were emerging, and the network was an ideal forum to bring interested parties together to discuss them and to identify needed lines of research. Some of the emerging topics were

- nutrition policies and programs
- economics of farm mechanization
- problems of field data collection
- world fertilizer economy
- role of women in development
- training in international development, with special emphasis on U.S. university training

Second, Weisblat and the network's program committee (formerly the steering committee) sought to include a more varied group in meetings. Their aim, never sufficiently realized, was to involve more individuals from the developing countries and more young U.S. social scientists.

Third, the network made an effort to work more closely with the council's interregional program in Asia. Both programs were interested in identifying priority problems of international agricultural development, both were committed to sharing research findings that bore directly on such problems, and both agreed on the value of establishing closer links between their networks. Weisblat and Bryant E. Kearl (and later Ralph H. Retzlaff) jointly sponsored some seminars. They shared information with each other about western and Asian scholars, and from time to time they included materials from each other's networks in their mailings.

Fourth, the network tried to accommodate some of USAID's interests. With action-oriented activities in scores of developing countries, USAID looked to the network and its clientele for practical guidelines and formulas that would provide direction for some of its short-term projects. It encouraged the network to include among its seminar participants a larger number of international donor and

technical-assistance agencies to balance the academics, ensuring that discussions of development issues and problems included the perspective of field experience. USAID also viewed the network as a means of identifying and recruiting social scientists for its own technical-assistance programs.

Focusing on Critical Issues

Within the range of topics identified by the research and training network as being of critical importance, a few received special attention under Weisblat: a study of resources devoted to national and international research, techniques for collecting and managing research data, the role of women in development, and means of improving graduate training.

Research resources. The 1970s saw a surge in research investment, sparked in part by the green revolution and in part by the establishment of the international agricultural research centers in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. The immediate challenge was to strengthen national research capacity.

To examine this challenge, the research and training network convened a major conference at Airlie House, Virginia, in January 1975, where 54 agricultural scientists, social scientists, and administrators met to examine recent evidence on the returns to investment in national and international agricultural research systems. The conference, which explored the relevance of economic and social factors in organizing and managing research systems, led to a book, *Resource Allocation and Productivity in National and Agricultural Research* (1977), edited by T. M. Arndt, D. G. Dalrymple, and Vernon W. Ruttan. This book has since become a standard reference for those interested in the productivity of agricultural research and policy that applies to it.

Data collection. Social scientists have special problems in conducting field research in developing countries—problems that are not adequately treated in many of the texts on research methodology. Experienced researchers took part in three research and training network seminars on problems of field data collection in rural areas. They had developed some useful working rules that the seminar planners hoped to capture and make available to less-experienced workers. For example, in western research literature, most of the material concerns single crops grown on one field in a single growing season, whereas in Asia the pattern is multiple cropping on a schedule that relies more on rainfall than on the calendar. Similarly, the researcher who tries to assess crop production in Asia encounters different local formulas for measuring land areas and crop yields and must design research accordingly.

Research literature and practice benefited from the information these three seminars collected on

- organizing data-collection programs
- choosing and developing data-collection instruments
- sampling
- dealing with field problems in data collection
- improving the reliability and accuracy of responses
- handling and sorting data

The seminars produced two significant publications: a book, *Field Data Collection in the Social Sciences: Experiences in Africa and the Middle East*, edited by Kearl (1975), and a seminar report, "Field Data Collection in Developing Countries: Experiences in Asia," by Frank Lynch (1976).

Women in development. From 1974 on, the role of women in rural development commanded growing attention. The network sought to identify the relevant issues and the individuals whose research was at the forefront of this neglected topic, which was explored in many seminars by participants from developing countries and a wide range of disciplines. In 1974, a group of 35 met for 3 days in Princeton, New Jersey, to explore what was known (or more accurately what was not known) about the traditional and changing economic roles of rural women in developing countries. They already knew that in almost every country women's economic functions were substantial; they needed to define those functions more precisely and examine their relationship to rural development. According to the report of a network seminar in October 1975, "Role of Rural Women in Development," research was needed to

- better describe women's activities compared to men's and women's relative access to services, training, credit, marketing facilities, and information channels
- better understand the extent to which women's labor, both inside and outside the house, determines family productivity
- describe the constraints on women's productivity and the sources of these constraints
- modify or create programs that could reduce constraints on family productivity
- analyze how changes in one set of women's responsibilites (such as efficiency in food production) affect their other responsibilities (such as child rearing)

Follow-up seminars were held in the United States and overseas, and council staff members later undertook research on the related topics of household economics and time allocation among rural women (Evenson, 1976; De Tray, 1977).

Graduate training. In keeping with the council's continuing concern for graduate training to meet the needs of developing-country students, the research and training network collaborated with the international committee of the American Agricultural Economics Association to give this subject special attention. Between 1974 and 1976, four seminars explored teaching and training issues such as the objectives of international training, new institutional patterns, resources emerging in the developing countries, and ways and means of improving U.S. training, teaching, and research for foreign students.

These studies and discussions resulted in the publication of *International Training in Agricultural Economic Development* (1976), edited by L. P. Schertz of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and Weisblat and A. Russell Stevenson of A/D/C. The book surveyed the status of graduate training in agricultural economics in different parts of the world and offered specific recommendations for improving U.S. training, including suggestions for the American agricultural economics profession. The seminar discussions summarized in the book mention, for example, the tendency of the profession to overspecialize in teaching and training and the difficulty this poses for foreign students under their care who face more general needs when they return home. The book concluded that more flexibility was needed in designing graduate programs and certain courses, especially in applied subjects. Other needs it identified included

- recognizing that it takes far more time to advise a foreign student than an American student
- developing stronger links between U.S. universities and those in developing countries
- giving more attention to key issues (resource planning, water use, trade policies) that are often neglected by the agricultural economics profession in the developing world
- stressing nonacademic training during the foreign student's stay in the United States
- developing post-training activities such as shortcourses, internships, and cooperative research

A second volume, which dealt with training issues, was published 4 years later by the AAEA with the network's assistance. *Training Agricultural Economists for Work in International Development* (1970) was edited by D. F. Fienup and H. M. Riley of Michigan State University. It remains an important reference in the field of international training.

Other issues. Weisblat and the network's program committee kept abreast of other current topics in the international development community through their frequent contacts with academics, representa-

tives of public and private development agencies, and A/D/C colleagues. As a result, the research and training network sponsored seminars and workshops between 1976 and 1980 on topics that included

- risk and uncertainty in agricultural development
- livestock production on small farms
- U.S. cooperatives and their relevance for small farmers in developing countries
- marine-resource education
- food security among food-deficit countries and food policies, especially in the handling of U.S. food surpluses
- mechanization of small-scale peasant farming
- rural credit and financial institutions
- mobilization of local resources for irrigation and irrigation-system management

The Program's Accomplishments

The contract between USAID and A/D/C required an evaluation of the research and training network's program after its first 5 years. The first evaluation in 1974 led to a 3-year extension. The second evaluation in 1977 authorized funding for a final 2 years. Thus, the network was part of the council's life for a decade, from 1970 to 1980. Although its support came chiefly from USAID, the council itself provided funds for activities that were not covered by the terms of the contract. Other agencies—including the Rockefeller and Ford foundations, World Bank, International Development Research Centre of Canada, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Winrock International Livestock Research and Training Center—made special grants to support particular seminars.

Dale Adams of Ohio State University commented (personal communication, 1986):

> The seminars and workshops were useful in two ways: they were a windfall for the young professional who was trying to make professional contact in the international community, and they allowed us to draw scattered people together who had similar subject interests. In my major field of rural financial markets, I can trace how the meetings helped Ohio State University and AID to clarify some of the existing problems and led to new views that have been adopted by most donors and by government agencies in the developing world.
>
> The RTN provided funding to OSU enabling us to conduct additional workshops to help spread these new views. A number of graduate students were able to utilize the data for their thesis research. RTN's help was vital in getting some of this work done for it was unlikely that other donors would have been willing to sponsor those early seminars on risky issues.

> The RTN also did some important things for me as a young professional. I was able to expand my contacts beyond Latin America to Asia and to learn from other professionals around the world who helped me see some of the general principles and problems in rural finance.

These two research networks, the American universities research program and the research and training network, were important ingredients in the success of the council's programs. They made it possible to establish links with those in the U.S. academic and research community who shared the council's concern for international agricultural and rural development. Their seminars and workshops yielded reports, monographs, and books that reached a wide circle of scientists and teachers, including many in Asia, where the council's primary interests lay. And for many rural social scientists from developed and developing countries, these networks provided rewarding opportunities to meet and learn from each other.

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Vernon W. Ruttan. (*Pach Brothers, New York*)

THE RUTTAN YEARS
1973 to 1977

The year before **Vernon W. Ruttan** assumed the presidency of the council was a time of reflection for the trustees and staff. In 1972, entering his fifteenth year of council leadership, Arthur T. Mosher felt it was time for the trustees to begin looking for his successor. At the same time, John D. Rockefeller 3rd indicated to the trustees that he no longer wanted to be chairman of the board.

PLANNING

In a memorandum, "Future Options for A/D/C," Mosher formally addressed trustees and staff with questions about the council's leadership and its future. The trustees at their January 1972 meeting and the staff at their annual conference in March reviewed these important issues:

- The council had made a place for itself in Asia in line with its goals and objectives. Should it continue along the same line, or were changes called for?
- Should it set a time in the near future when its operations should be phased out? If not, what qualities should it look for in a new president, and what were the prospects for future funding, both from current donors and from other sources?
- Should the program continue to be confined to Asia, or had the time come, as some suggested, to initiate activities in Africa?
- Within Asia, which countries warranted major attention?
- Were there countries where the council had not been active—for example, Pakistan and Bangladesh—and where it should become engaged?
- Which programs should receive more or less attention: fellowships in the United States, fellowships in Asia, interregional activities, in-

service training, research by staff or Asian colleagues, or services to remote regional universities?

In the ensuing months, consensus was reached on many of these questions. The council decided to extend its mission for at least 10 years, and a search for successors to Mosher and Rockefeller began. The trustees also decided to continue to limit the council's programs to Asia, emphasizing South and Southeast Asia. Financial support for the near future appeared to be assured: Rockefeller had committed personal contributions for at least another 5 years, and prospects were good for continued support from other current donors, including the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Ford Foundation, International Development Research Centre of Canada, and U.S. Agency for International Development. The income from the council's reserve fund continued to be an important funding source.

RUTTAN BECOMES PRESIDENT

The board of trustees chose a new chairman from its own ranks: Donald H. McLean, Jr., assumed his new office in January 1974. For Mosher's successor as president, they looked for a person with Asian experience, strong professional qualifications—preferably an economist or an agricultural economist—and administrative capabilities. Ideally, the new president would be someone acquainted with the council and its work. The trustees found such a person in Ruttan, then the director of the Economic Development Center of the University of Minnesota and formerly the head of that university's department of agricultural and applied economics. From 1963 to 1965 Ruttan had been resident agricultural economist at the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines. He had traveled extensively in Asia and was well known for his research and writing on the economics of technical change and on agricultural and economic development. And for 5 years he had been an active member of the council's board of trustees.

As A/D/C's president, beginning in June 1973, Ruttan pursued objectives that grew out of his own experiences in Asia, his acquaintance with the council's program, and his insights as a leading agricultural economist—objectives that directly influenced his recruitment of staff and the evolution of the A/D/C program. These objectives were in several ways substantially different from Mosher's agenda.

First, Ruttan began to recruit associates with strong professional credentials who could work with, and be a match for, many of the returned council fellows who were rising to the top of the rural social science profession in Asia. Ruttan also recruited with the understand-

ing that associates and specialists would plan to move back into western academic life after a stated period of service with the council. He viewed an appointment to the council not as a tenured career arrangement but as an opportunity, limited in time, for career enhancement.

Second, Ruttan sought to take account of the changing environment in Asia. In the rural social sciences, the council had tried to create capacity through fellowship and training activities. The challenge now, as Ruttan saw it (A/D/C, 1975), was "to make the transition from a capacity development phase to providing inputs of knowledge into the development process." The council's contribution, however modest, should be "to hasten the process by which the output of training and research in the rural social sciences becomes an input into agricultural and rural development."

In the 1975 annual report, Ruttan suggested some ways in which the council might play a role as a supplier of knowledge:

> It might mean locating a staff member with strong methodological skills and training interests in a university department that is initiating or attempting to strengthen its graduate program. The effect is more often observed in the quality of research conducted by graduate students than by the volume of the associate's own work.
>
> It may mean locating a staff member with a strong interest in problem-oriented research at a research institution which has made a decision to expand its social science capacity. In such an environment the staff member's professional output may be expressed primarily in the results of collaborative research with junior staff who are just beginning to develop a research capacity. A/D/C's participation in the Rice Intensification Project of the Agroeconomic Survey in Indonesia is an example.
>
> It may also mean attempting to stimulate professional capacity to work in a field that remains undeveloped. The Council's recent work on social dimensions of fisheries and aquaculture development in Southeast Asia is an example.
>
> Because of the limited capacity of its own staff, and the limited professional capacity of most of the institutions with which it collaborates, the Council places a very strong emphasis on the need to take advantage of the complementarity between research and training. A research institution which is not engaged in training is likely to be using its resources inefficiently.

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE MOVES TO ASIA

During Ruttan's first year with the council he proposed to the trustees and staff that his office be moved to Asia. (See chapter 4.) He felt he could keep in closer touch with the field staff by visiting them more frequently if he was stationed in Asia. He also could take a more

active part in the interregional program, and he could pursue his own research interests more effectively than he could in the United States.

Some important presidential responsibilities could not be met from an Asian base, and Ruttan made frequent trips to New York to handle such matters. These included meeting and consulting with the board of trustees; meeting with North American donor agencies; monitoring the U.S. fellowship program and the research and training network; and attending to financial, legal, and tax matters.

A NEW CONCEPT: THE REGIONAL RESEARCH SPECIALIST

At the January 1974 trustees' meeting, Ruttan presented a set of papers (A/D/C, 1974) in which he outlined new program possibilities and emphasized the need for research specialists who would work from regional locations on problems of particular significance for Asia's developing economies. He pointed out that the strength that had emerged in agricultural economics in Asia was heavily concentrated in farm management, production economics, commodity marketing, and program planning; areas neglected up to that time included forest economics, fisheries economics, livestock, irrigation economics, and commodity trade policy.

The council already had two associates, Donald C. Taylor and William L. Collier, whose research centered on some of these subjects. Others hired by Ruttan—Hans P. Binswanger, Robert E. Evenson, Nancy E. Waxler, and Benjamin N. F. White—also brought to the council strong research interests in these neglected topics.

Taylor, who in 1974 replaced Milton L. Barnett as associate for Malaysia, brought with him from India and Indonesia a deep interest in irrigation research. Establishing himself at the faculty of resource economics and agribusiness of the Universiti Pertanian Malaysia at Serdang, Taylor conducted his own research and encouraged that of others on managing and operating gravity-flow irrigation systems. He organized a network to enhance communication among those active in irrigation research, policy, management, and operations in Asia, and he was instrumental in producing part of a growing literature on irrigation problems and policies.

For example, Taylor and local colleagues studied a variety of irrigation projects in the states of Kedah, Kalantan, Perak, and Sabah in Malaysia as well as in East Java in Indonesia. They collected data on a full range of reservoir, river, diversion, and pumped sources of water. Some of these projects had 100-year histories, whereas others were just getting started; some served areas as large as 100,000 hect-

ares, while others affected only a few hundred hectares. Taylor concentrated on financial policies for securing repayment from users in canal-irrigation projects and on the economics of various operations, maintenance, and management options. For example, what were the possibilities of restructuring irrigation institutions to make them more responsive to the needs of the cultivators served by a particular system? What were the economics of current maintenance versus deferred rehabilitation?

Another example of Taylor's work is a study he conducted on the economics of irrigation scheduling for the Kemubu Agricultural Development Project in Malaysia. This research analyzed the water-release schedules set by the irrigation-system managers and compared the rice production of farmers who conformed to the schedules and those who did not (Wickham, 1985).

In 1975, in collaboration with Thomas H. Wickham of the International Rice Research Institute, Taylor organized a communication network for people active in irrigation work. A semiannual newsletter, which Taylor edited, offered readers information about current research and literature on irrigation in Asia. Through this newsletter, Taylor was able to identify a growing number of individuals who were interested in irrigation and to assemble such people for 13 seminars and workshops on irrigation issues that were held between 1971 and 1981.

By 1977 the irrigation newsletter had published summaries of 65 ongoing research projects and had provided information on courses being offered in South and Southeast Asia on irrigation and water resources development. Much of this information was contributed by the 600 researchers and irrigation practitioners who were the network's members.

Taylor and Wickham (1976) prepared a bibliography of socioeconomic research in irrigation that met a compelling need of researchers and systems personnel in remote locations for access to information about others' studies and about fugitive publications. They also collaborated on a monograph on irrigation management (Taylor and Wickham, 1978), and later Wickham (1985) summarized a great deal of research on irrigation management.

Taylor's work over his 12 years with the council contributed to an understanding of some critical irrigation problems. Both he and the council supported and encouraged many other investigators who brought to the forefront of the agricultural development agenda a concern for irrigation and water management, and these efforts led to the establishment in 1984 of the International Irrigation Management Institute in Sri Lanka.

Under Ruttan, Collier continued the research that had characterized his 5 years in Indonesia as a participating consultant with the

Agro-Economic Survey. Collier's research had covered a range of agricultural development problems, including intensifying rice production, marketing rice, diversifying tree crops, and developing agriculture at the village level. Now Collier began to study the economics of fisheries and aquaculture, the fragile physical ecology of coastal villages, the preservation and use of brackish-water ponds, and the economic potential of coastal swamps. Too little was known about these important topics, as Ruttan (1974) pointed out:

> Many countries of the region have instituted research, training, and investment programs to assist in the development of fisheries resources. As yet, however, there is little knowledge of the production economics, the marketing and price economics, or the investment and management requirements for successful development of the fisheries sector.

In an early initiative, Collier and the interregional program office organized a workshop on artisanal-fisheries development. This workshop, held in March 1974 at Bogor, was attended by the director general of fisheries in Indonesia, faculty members from the Institut Pertanian Bogor's school of fisheries, staff of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Agro-Economic Survey, representatives from five international organizations, and fisheries specialists from other Asian countries. The participants' recommendations on fisheries community development, credit and investment requirements, marketing needs, and extension services appeared in a final report of the workshop prepared by Collier and Arthur Hansen of the Ford Foundation.

The following year, Ruttan recruited Harlan C. Lampe, a fisheries specialist from the University of Rhode Island, to survey training and research needs in fisheries and aquaculture throughout the region and to help define priorities for research and training on the economic and institutional aspects of fisheries and fresh- and brackish-water aquaculture. At the conclusion of Lampe's 6-month assignment, the interregional program office held a seminar—in Singapore in December 1975—to discuss Lampe's report and possible future activities in the field.

In a related effort, Collier and Hansen with the help of staff from the universities at Bogor and Diponegoro began a 2-year study of the ecology of coastal villages. It integrated research by scientists of different disciplines, analyzed data collected from three coastal villages in the Kendal district near the port city of Semarang, and was based on a sample of 280 respondents that included rice farmers, brackish-water pond operators, and fishermen. The study provided information on a number of coastal village conditions: nutrition and health, rice production, farmer income, pond and ocean fishing, ecological conditions, and the role of local and regional institutions.

On sabbatic leave at the University of Hawaii, Collier participated in a 1976 workshop on research methodology for fish-farm management that drew up proposals for 15 socioeconomic studies of households involved in aquaculture operations. Collier and the Agro-Economic Survey staff undertook a number of these studies in later years.

Returning to Indonesia, Collier wrote a paper on economic development and shared poverty among Javanese sea fishermen that provided the basis for discussions with staff members of a number of universities and research institutions that he visited throughout Indonesia. He also worked with graduate students and university researchers to develop a series of studies on coastal villages in eastern Java, brackish-water pond cultivation in central Java, and the economic potential of coastal swamps in Sumatra. The last study was especially important since Collier found that almost 30% of Sumatra is swampy land.

Collier's contribution as a research specialist in Indonesia is best measured by his encouragement, support, and supervision of university staff who needed training, funding assistance, and experience in conducting field research. For some of the more remote institutions, Collier and A/D/C were the only source of such assistance.

Hans P. Binswanger, the first associate appointed by Ruttan, was a perfect fit for the new president's regional-research-specialist concept. Binswanger, who was employed in October 1973, had a strong research background that served the council well during his 6 years on staff.

Binswanger spent his first 8 months in the New York office working on a major exploration of induced innovation that he and Ruttan had initiated when Binswanger was on a postdoctoral assignment at the University of Minnesota's department of agricultural and applied economics. The primary purpose of this work, which comprised several interrelated studies, was to achieve a better understanding of how economic forces affect technical and institutional change that is the means to economic development. Binswanger's contribution was an analysis of the microeconomic foundations of induced innovation theory (Binswanger and Ruttan, 1978).

In October 1974 Binswanger moved to Hyderabad as A/D/C's associate for India. There he became one of two resident agricultural economists at the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics, a new center sponsored by the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research.

Binswanger found himself in a situation quite different from that in Southeast Asia. India had a well-developed higher-education system and an agricultural economics profession. Thus, A/D/C was needed less to train scientists at the doctoral level than to assist and

encourage the professional development of scientists who had already completed their advanced training. During his years in India, Binswanger visited scores of universities and research institutions, where he conducted seminars and helped to establish and maintain contacts for the council. He participated in professional meetings and helped the interregional program and the research and training network identify Indian social scientists who were qualified to participate in regional and international networks.

Binswanger's own research agenda, which was supported by the crops-research institute, was always full. His interests lay along three lines: village-level studies, risk and uncertainty as factors in decision-making, and the economic effects of farm mechanization. He collaborated with colleagues in the institute's economics unit on village studies that continued for years. These micro-level investigations, which were carried out in three agroclimatic zones, included 240 respondent households, which were evenly divided among six villages. The aim of the studies was to use primary data amenable to quantitative analysis that would permit hypothesis testing in such areas as risk, labor bottlenecks, disease incidence, and nutrition. Later, cross-village comparisons were an important feature of this work. As the research progressed, socioanthropological issues received greater attention, and the economic accounting framework was expanded to allow a clearer understanding of formal and informal cooperative behavior and of the households' transactions with each other.

One aspect of the village studies that particularly interested Binswanger was the measure of attitudes toward risk, which was becoming an increasingly significant variable in the lives of third world farmers. Tied to time-worn production practices, they were facing hard decisions about whether to adopt the new plant varieties and the accompanying package of inputs that agricultural scientists were suggesting. The recommended changes required new monetary investments, usually on credit, and the outcome of the harvest, months away, appeared uncertain.

At the time international interest was growing in doing research to discover optimal farm inputs under conditions of risk and uncertainty and to predict farmers' choices of inputs. To get a clearer picture of what was being done in this area and to stimulate new research, the research and training network sponsored a conference in March 1976, "Risk and Uncertainty in Agricultural Development," which Binswanger helped organize. Thirty-three participants met for 5 days at the International Center for the Improvement of Maize and Wheat in Mexico, where they discussed such issues as the role of risk in agriculture, methods of measuring risk and risk preference, reduction

of risk by diversification and risk sharing, and alternative forms of government intervention.

In 1977, Binswanger designed experiments in India to elicit the attitudes of Indian farmers toward risk. His method was to set up a game in which respondents chose among alternative actions described to them as varying in riskiness. Each alternative had an unfavorable money outcome, and the players' levels of risk aversion were classified by the actions they chose. The experiment involved more than 350 respondents, and actual payouts of money went as high as 50 times the daily wage for an unskilled laborer. The results, Binswanger reported, "showed that at high game levels most respondents were substantially risk averse but almost none were extremely risk averse. The risk attitudes were highly concentrated on intermediate and moderate risk-aversion levels and seemed to be little influenced by wealth levels or other household characteristics" (A/D/C, 1977). The literature on the diffusion of new technology to farmers in developing countries suggests that risk-averse producers will be slower adopters. Binswanger's research was one of the earlier efforts to try to quantify risk aversion.

Binswanger's work on mechanization began in 1978 when he agreed to coordinate a set of research studies financed by USAID that focused on small-scale mechanization and on previously unexplored issues in mechanization in Asia. The 3-year program was to provide a better understanding of the effects of farm mechanization on small farms and to improve the capacity of Asian scientists and institutions to conduct the needed research. Asian social scientists undertook small, independent studies and worked with A/D/C staff. Researchers funded under the grant were given the opportunity to participate in seminars and workshops conducted by the International Rice Research Institute, which had a major project in the same field. One early result of the effort was a monograph on the introduction and use of tractors in South Asia (Binswanger, 1978).

In 1974 **Robert E. Evenson** became associate for the Philippines, replacing Raymond E. Borton. During Evenson's 3 years with the council, he made substantial contributions as a teacher, a mentor to young researchers, and a research specialist.

Recruited from Yale University, where he was an associate professor in the economics department at the Yale Economic Growth Center, Evenson had a distinguished academic career that included periods as a visiting lecturer in Argentina and India. His many works covered a range of interests but focused on the relations between agricultural research and agricultural production and between research and technology transfer. At the time he joined the council, Evenson was completing a major study of the returns to investment in national and

international agricultural research institutions; the results were soon published in an A/D/C monograph (Boyce and Evenson, 1975).

As an associate, Evenson was based at the department of agricultural economics of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, where he taught graduate courses on econometrics, economic theory, and agricultural development. (He also lectured and collaborated on research in the economics department of the University of the Philippines at Diliman and in the social science departments at Ateneo de Manila and Xavier universities.) In 1974, when Evenson arrived at Los Baños, the department had 50 graduate students. They came from many countries; most were master's-degree candidates sponsored by the A/D/C interregional program office and other organizations such as the Southeast Asia Regional Center for Agriculture, Philippine Council for Agricultural Research, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and International Rice Research Institute. Many of these students looked to Evenson for assistance. He was thesis advisor for some and drew others into current research projects.

At Los Baños, Evenson was intent on trying to upgrade graduate programs. Much of the research that had been done appeared to have been supported by external agencies that asked only for it to be relevant to their policies. Evenson (field report, 1972) wrote that "too often such studies do not reflect rigorous analysis of careful empirical work....The pressure for policy relevance could become an excuse for incompetence." He felt that the universities at Los Baños, Diliman, and Manila were all capable of offering high-quality graduate programs and that therein lay their advantage. In his view, A/D/C was flexible enough to work on both ends of the quality continuum:

> On the one hand, the Council has been able to select and nurture young professionals in the early stages better than many other agencies. And, on the other, it has the flexibility to offer some leadership to help moderately developed institutions break out of the mediocrity plateau.

Evenson devoted much of his time in the Philippines to research that was new for the council: a study of barrio households in Laguna Province that became known as the *Laguna survey.* A research staff of 16 developed the survey in two phases. First a cross-section was developed by collecting data from a random sample of 600 households in 34 barrios. Then a subsample of 100 households was extensively examined with instruments that measured time allocation and diet.

Evenson regarded the household as a better unit of observation than the farm, and the new approach to studying household economics proved viable. The researchers learned by doing; some contributed to instrument design, others to field testing. The major contributors came from different departments. Each took on a specific aspect of the study: Diliman's home economics department handled

the dietary survey; its economics department examined time allocation, health, data processing, the role of children, income, and labor. Los Baños's agricultural economics department explored food-consumption expenditures and home management. Evenson took charge of collecting agricultural data and coordinating staff. What emerged was a multipurpose survey that yielded a wealth of data about household activities. It tested many hypotheses, including some that evolved as the data accumulated.

The project succeeded in several ways. It drew graduate students into new fields of research and led to a number of doctoral and master's theses. The study's findings provided important insights into troublesome development issues and in time had a noticeable impact on government policy decisions. The topic of household economics, which began to arouse more interest in the Philippines and elsewhere in Asia, became the focus of some notable meetings and publications (Nerlove, 1974; Evenson, 1976).

A workshop on the new household economics was held in August 1976 in Singapore, sponsored jointly by the council's research and training network and its regional research and training program. A group of 52 people—anthropologists, nutritionists, extension specialists, and economists—reported on studies of various aspects of household behavior. A major objective of the 5-day meeting was to compare the different disciplines' approaches to the study of human behavior and to define new directions for future research (De Tray, 1977; Binswanger et al., 1980).

Less than a year later, A/D/C sponsored a symposium on household economics with the Philippines Economics Society and the Philippines Agricultural Economics Association. Of the 12 major papers presented, 8 were products of the Laguna survey. The symposium, whose proceedings were published in a special issue of the *Philippine Economic Journal*, introduced a number of social scientists to this still-new field of inquiry and broadened the perspectives of some of the more traditional agricultural economists. Of six council-supported Ph.D. students who took part in these studies, four are now key faculty members at the University of the Philippines at Los Baños.

The only social psychologist on the council's staff, **Nancy E. Waxler**, arrived in Sri Lanka in July 1976, where she spent 2 years on extended leave from her research position in the department of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. Waxler was a visiting lecturer and research specialist at the newly formed Postgraduate Institute of Agriculture at Peradeniya and in the sociology department of the University of Sri Lanka.

A new curriculum focusing on agricultural economics and extension had been introduced at the postgraduate institute, and Waxler

developed and taught two courses in its curriculum, one in rural sociology and another in social psychology. It was the first exposure to sociology for many of her students, who were primarily government officers working as extension specialists and teachers in district agricultural schools. Waxler introduced her students to simple research methods that they could use in their work to help them understand village social structure. For example, she once organized four groups, assigning to each a different research topic:

- social background of early adopters of new practices
- aspirations of sons of farm families
- role of women in farm decision-making
- position in the village of contact farmers (those appointed by the extension service)

After spending a week in the field collecting data, the groups used class periods to analyze and write up their findings.

With the University of Sri Lanka's sociology department, Waxler also developed new courses, but the challenge in this case was to upgrade faculty skills. The department's small faculty had done some work on development problems in rural villages, but none of the faculty members was skilled in research methods. During her first year Waxler conducted a faculty seminar in which she covered aspects of social research by using case studies derived either from the participants' work or from that of other Sri Lankan investigators. The seminar led to a departmental research project to collect data about the country's largest collective farm. Faculty members and senior students participated in this project, which was funded by the council.

Waxler initiated other agricultural research projects related to the interests of the institute and its director, T. Jogaratnam, a former council fellow. One project was a study of farm management and productivity under different irrigation conditions in the country's dry zone. Another examined the causes of leaving school and the relationship between educational levels and development in typical Sinhalese villages, in new colonization settlements, and among the urban poor.

Throughout her stay in Sri Lanka, Waxler continued her medical sociological research. She was particularly concerned with the ways cultural beliefs and practices influence and mold the lives of sick people, particularly the mentally ill. Her study of psychiatric patients in Sri Lankan villages showed that the outcome for schizophrenia, for example, was much better there than in comparable Western populations. Her findings were consistent, she reported, with the findings of a much larger World Health Organization study of nine countries that revealed better outcomes for schizophrenics in the less-developed countries, where in-family care was the norm. In Waxler's second year, she completed theoretical and empirical papers on the Sri

Lankan case, linking aspects of cultural and social structure to patient care.

Benjamin N. F. White, a native of England who was trained in anthropology at Oxford and later at Columbia University, was recruited as a research specialist for the Rural Dynamics Survey in Indonesia. White had worked in Indonesia earlier while doing his doctoral-thesis research. His service to the study from 1975 to 1979 was made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The Rural Dynamics Survey was a study of economic and social change in rural Java. The project's scope and design were developed over a year by Dr. Birowo of the Institut Pertanian Bogor with the assistance ofCollier and the staff of the Agro-Economic Survey. Ambitious and large scale, the project was supported by external donors and by the Indonesian government, which hoped to use its findings in making public-policy decisions.

The initial survey got under way in late 1975. Data were collected from 800 villages in the Cimnanuk River Basin of West Java. A sample of 25 villages was studied more intensively through interviews conducted four times a year. The central questions of the study bore on important rural development issues such as systems of agriculture, distribution and use of resources, labor allocation, sources of income, impact of technology, household economic behavior, rural institutions, population and migration, and access to services. White and the project director, Rudy Sinaga, a former fellow, confronted problems throughout the life of the survey—technical problems of computer programming, statistical analysis, and data transfer, and human resource problems arising from the field work being performed by a staff that never numbered more than 15 and that continued to need better research skills.

White became active in the intensive surveys, focusing on the topics of employment and rural institutions. He experimented with anthropological techniques of research, making a series of quick studies in the sample villages that produced rapid, low-cost results on some of the more immediate questions. White was a trainer as well as a researcher because many of the survey staff had to be trained on the job.

In a more formal setting, White joined in teaching a shortcourse, "Rural Development Problems and Strategies," in the University of Indonesia's development studies program, and he taught a course on population for master's-degree candidates at Institut Pertanian Bogor. As part of a training workshop at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, he also taught "The Value of Children."

Late in 1977, White began supervising data collection for special studies on rural household economics and the role of women. Earlier he had joined with Evenson and other A/D/C staff members to

organize the Singapore workshop on household studies held in August 1976. White wrote two of the papers presented at the workshop and coedited *Rural Household Studies in Asia* (Binswanger et al., 1980), which summarized the discussions at the workshop.

Eventually, the surveys extended beyond Java. In one of the later studies, White and a team of agricultural economists and anthropologists investigated the impact of mechanization on rural employment and income distribution in rural Bali. Staff members of Udayana University at Denpasar joined the team in this study.

NEW COUNTRY PROGRAMS

Under Ruttan's direction new country programs were begun in Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan. In each case, the country requested a council presence and ongoing assistance, and in each case the additional funding that was needed to develop the new country program became available from external donors.

Bangladesh

What is now the People's Republic of Bangladesh was, in prewar India, East Bengal. After the 1947 partition of India and Pakistan, the area became East Pakistan. In 1971, this Wisconsin-sized territory with a population of 99 million broke with West Pakistan to become the independent nation of Bangladesh.

In February 1975, **Edward J. Clay** was appointed associate for Bangladesh. Clay, a British citizen, had written his doctoral dissertation on tubewell irrigation in India and had taught for 2 years at the University of Papua New Guinea. Under A/D/C, he was based at the Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council (BARC) in the capital city of Dhaka.

It was not easy to launch a new program in a country where the council was little known. Clay had to take time and care to define his and the council's professional interests and expectations while being attentive to the interests and expectations of his new colleagues. BARC wanted Clay's help in improving its capacity to do research in the rural social sciences. With that improved research capacity, it would reevaluate its program and clarify issues that concerned agricultural and rural development planners. BARC also wanted to accelerate training for its professional staff.

Clay accommodated these twin interests in social-science research and training in a 1975 collaborative study of rice harvesting. He began the first of a series of small-scale studies in which junior staff partici-

pated in all aspects of the work, from design to analysis to reporting. This study illustrated the complementarity of interests between cropping-systems agronomists and economists on precise yield estimates through crop cuts and on-site collection of harvesting data for rice varieties. The project also enabled Clay to continue exploring his interest in the relationship between technical innovation and institutional change—in this case, the introduction of new rice varieties and changes in methods of harvesting and their relative efficiencies and costs.

Also in 1975 a study of wheat cultivation in Bangladesh was initiated based on a paper prepared by Clay and Stephen Biggs, a local Ford Foundation economist, "Wheat in Bangladesh: An Economic Analysis." The paper had been presented at a national seminar held under BARC auspices. Other studies were begun the following year on selected rural communities and on components of prevailing agricultural systems. The studies' purpose was to help answer practical questions with which agricultural researchers and policymakers were concerned. They also generated high-quality data as part of the process of increasing local research competence.

In addition to working with BARC, Clay was a part-time economist at the Bangladesh Rice Research Institute. He also established professional links with faculty members at the agricultural university at Mymensingh. He and colleagues at the rice institute initiated a study of deep-water rice that was the first systematic collection of agroeconomic data on this seldom-studied crop. Yield assessments in farmers' fields demonstrated, Clay reported, that yield potential was substantially higher than had been believed. Clay was also struck by the many examples of spontaneous innovative behavior by farmers.

These activities enabled Clay to identify promising Bangladeshi social scientists involved in rural development and to draw them increasingly into the A/D/C research and training programs. Working with a local selection committee, Clay nominated candidates for graduate-study fellowships, and within 3 years 12 Bangladeshis had begun study abroad as council fellows. These fellows studied at universities in Australia, India, the Philippines, and the United States in disciplines that included agricultural economics, agricultural extension, anthropology, community development, and sociology.

During Clay's third year, he and BARC colleagues finished editing the first four of a series of social science publications, which included Clay's "Bibliography of Agricultural Economics and Rural Social Sciences with Special Reference to Bangladesh" of 1977. Clay also compiled, with Mavis Clay, "Extension Directorate Survey on Land Tenure" in 1978.

The council's program in Bangladesh over the 10 years from 1975 to 1985 benefited from successive Ford Foundation grants. This was

one of many examples of Ford Foundation funding that made it possible for A/D/C to initiate and maintain a program that both organizations believed in.

Nepal

Shao-er Ong arrived in Thailand in 1970. By 1973 he had begun periodic visits to Nepal, where he renewed acquaintances with agricultural officials he had worked with in his earlier years with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN. As associate for both Thailand and Nepal, he arranged for a series of exchange visits between Thai and Nepalese social scientists and began to identify Nepalese candidates for council fellowships.

The Kingdom of Nepal, a constitutional monarchy, was for centuries virtually closed to the outside world. It became less isolated in the years following World War II. Roads and air service linked it to China, India, Pakistan, and Thailand; and external agencies—usually Western—were invited to help bring about greater economic development and modernization.

Much of the external assistance to Nepal supported large public-works projects. Ruttan saw an opportunity for the council to contribute, as it had in Bangladesh and Pakistan, to the country's agricultural and rural development through training and research support for individuals who would later serve the larger interests of the country. Accordingly, he recruited **William M. Bateson** as a short-term specialist at the Center for Economic Development and Administration at Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu.

The center was a semiautonomous research and training institution that, though closely linked to the university, operated under its own board of governors. The center's work and its staff, which was largely Nepalese, were supported by the government, World Bank, Ford Foundation, United Nations, and Canadian- and German-government development agencies. One of the center's training activities was its series of shortcourses on planning, administering, and evaluating development projects, in which government staff (usually of joint-secretary rank) enrolled. The center also participated in the university's postgraduate training by offering courses on development-related topics.

In his first year, Bateson contributed to two studies: one concerning the impact of pond fisheries and another on socioeconomic factors that affect the accessibility of education in certain remote areas. The first study, which collected data from 250 fish farmers, aimed at calculating costs and levels of profitability for pond-fish enterprises. Bateson reported that a farmer's experience was a key factor in determining output: Production expanded 12% to 18% for each year of

experience. The study also underlined the need for more effective marketing as fish farming rapidly expanded.

A second study identified changing trends in elementary and secondary schooling patterns, providing useful data to educational planners. The government of Nepal, greatly concerned about the country's low rate of literacy, took a growing interest in building new schools and in monitoring students' performance. The need was to match educational preparation to the country's anticipated labor-force requirements.

Bateson also established ties with a new research institution, the Agricultural Projects Services Center (APROSC). The head of APROSC was B. P. Dhital, a well-known agricultural economist and former director of the agriculture ministry's planning division. APROSC had assembled a small staff to begin a series of research and evaluation projects.

In 1976, Bateson's second year, steps were taken to expand the council's program in Nepal. A three-way partnership involving APROSC, USAID, and A/D/C was proposed to support training and research. The advanced training and the lines of research contemplated under the agreement, which was signed by Ruttan in October 1976, were not being offered by other agencies that were active at the time. The enlarged program that resulted was sustained for a decade. For the first 5 years, USAID committed $1,140,000 and A/D/C committed $850,000. The ministry of food and agriculture, the parent of APROSC, allocated $70,000, much of it in kind.

When the new program began, Bateson became the associate for Nepal and was assigned to work directly with APROSC. In September 1977 he was joined by **Veit Burger,** A/D/C's research specialist for the project. Burger was an Austrian national who had earned his doctorate at Cornell University based on research he did in Nepal.

By early 1976, seven Nepalese had received council fellowships and were enrolled in graduate study at universities in Asia and Australia; others were then under consideration for doctoral programs in the United States. Under the terms of the agreement signed in the fall of that year, and with the combined resources made available under that agreement, 25 men and women were to be sent to universities in Asia and Australia for master's-level training and 5 people were to be selected for Ph.D. study in the United States. This formal degree training was to be supplemented by support for individuals in short-term, nondegree training aimed at increasing their research and planning skills.

Bateson and Burger collaborated with APROSC staff on research into constraints on crop production, diffusion of new agricultural technology, and formulation and evaluation of projects. One of the first research studies was designed to identify production constraints

in the Kathmandu Valley and relate the results to the past and present activities of the Nepalese agricultural research system. The methodology developed was applied to studies in other agroenvironmental regions of the country. In A/D/C's 1976 annual report, Bateson wrote,

> The long-run development of the rural sector in Nepal demands approaches and solutions which are not easily borrowed from either the developing or the developed world. Access to world markets is limited by its landlocked status. Improvements in internal transportation require large initial and annual investments in roads. Small and diverse microclimates suggest that plant breeding experiments will have a lower rate of pay-off than in the rest of South Asia. International resources continue to be important for agricultural development, and the efficiency with which these are used will depend on the analytical and policy-making abilities within the family of institutions which serve the rural sector.

Under the project agreement, the research staff was able to purchase equipment that would not otherwise have been available, such as three Army-surplus jeeps that were a great help in getting to remote field-work locations. Other purchases included calculators, typewriters, field-camping equipment, and a large Hewlett-Packard programmable calculator. At the time, computer services in Nepal were not adequate for the data analysis that was planned for the project.

Like any project involving both government and nongovernment sponsors and participants, the Nepal program occasionally ran into problems that were not easily solved. Some of the issues that took special effort were selecting fellowship candidates and other trainees, agreeing on short-term training alternatives, formulating and managing research activities, and maintaining good interinstitutional relations.

At the end of 1977, as Bateson returned to the University of Wisconsin, Burger continued as research specialist and Ong moved from Thailand to head the Nepal project and become the full-time resident associate.

Pakistan

The trustees and staff believed the council could make a useful contribution in Pakistan, and over the years Mosher, Ruttan, and Abraham M. Weisblat made contacts that improved A/D/C's ability to do worthwhile work in that country. In 1973 Ruttan named Binswanger as Pakistan's associate-designate, but complications and delays on the part of Pakistan's government eventually made it necessary to assign Binswanger to work in India instead.

From 1974 to 1977 Ruttan continued his efforts to establish a program in Pakistan, and two promising developments emerged. First, the rector of the agricultural university at Faisalabad, Amir

Mohammed, expressed a keen interest in having an A/D/C associate located at that institution. Second, John C. Cool, the local Ford Foundation representative, offered special funding to reinforce a council program.

The establishment of an A/D/C presence in Pakistan seemed particularly desirable because it would offer the opportunity to work with a community of able social scientists in government agencies and at teaching and research centers such as the universities at Faisalabad, Islamabad, Karachi, and Lahore and the Institute for Development Economics at Peshawar. Moreover, Pakistan had 12 former council fellows, trained in the United States, who had advanced degrees in agricultural economics, rural sociology, public administration, and agricultural law. However, many of Pakistan's well-trained scientists were being attracted to other countries to live and work. Pakistan needed help to train and retain a new generation of teachers and researchers, especially in fields related to agricultural and rural development.

In 1977, after visits by both Ruttan and Stevenson, negotiations with the government of Pakistan and the Ford Foundation were completed and a program was begun in Pakistan. **Brian A. Lockwood,** the council's first associate in Pakistan, was an Australian national who had worked as an agricultural economics researcher in India and the Philippines. Lockwood was located at Faisalabad. He spent his first year, 1978, in typical associate activities: He was a visiting professor in the university's faculty of agricultural economics and rural sociology, teaching a course on international trade and creating a new course on rural development. He helped a group of students do economic surveys in a number of nearby villages. Four master's-degree candidates began studies as part of an A/D/C mechanization project. Their research related to the maintenance of farm machinery, farmers' decisions about investing in tractors and other machinery, the employment effects of the use of wheat threshers, and the custom-threshing business. Lockwood initiated two studies: one on cotton-production management and another on livestock as an income producer for small farmers and landless workers.

Lockwood also established contact with former fellows and with other rural social scientists around the country. He drew them into some locally sponsored seminars to discuss Pakistan's development problems; some took part in the seminars and workshops sponsored by the council's interregional program; others were identified as candidates for advanced training under the Asian fellowship program; and some received grants for research for which local support was not available.

Repatriation of Asian Social Scientists

Vernon W. Ruttan and others in the council were concerned about the number of trained social scientists from Asia who for various reasons remained in the West instead of returning home. Although many scientists who had been trained in the United States were working in their home countries, the shortage of skilled staff was still critical at Asian universities and government agencies.

Sometimes council staff members would come across Asians who were studying in the United States under other auspices and who had been offered positions at home in which they were interested but who did not have the money for a ticket home.

The council decided to help these individuals by paying their travel expenses. A note in A/D/C's newsletter announced the availability of a limited number of such travel grants, which had been funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. The following conditions applied to travel grants:

- Each recipient had to have what the council considered superior training and ability and the firm offer of a position that would make use of those professional skills.
- Each recipient had to agree to serve at least 1 year in the new assignment and to provide the council with a written report within 6 months of returning to Asia.
- Each grant was for airfare only, direct from the U.S. location to the Asian location, for the grantee and spouse.

During 1974-75, the council made six grants. Three of the grantees returned to Taiwan, one to India, one to South Korea, and one to Thailand. Two grants were made in 1976, and three more in 1977. Attempts to get additional funding to continue the program were unsuccessful.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Ruttan appointed new staff to continue existing programs. Mosher, for example, became the council's associate for Sri Lanka; C. Geoffrey Swenson was assigned to Indonesia and Max R. Langham to the Philippines; and Ong continued his work in Thailand (later moving to Nepal).

After stepping down from the presidency and spending time in the New York office helping Ruttan in the transition, Mosher accepted an assignment as associate for Sri Lanka from 1974 to 1976. He began by getting acquainted with the agriculture of the country and with the various efforts, both public and private, to increase its agricultural productivity. Based at Peradeniya and on the faculty of agriculture there, he devoted his time primarily to teaching and writing.

Mosher believed that in colleges of agriculture in Asia it was more important to improve the content of individual courses than to revise curricula. With that in mind, he spent much of 1974 helping the faculty develop a 1-year course in agricultural extension for fourth-year undergraduates in cooperation with the government's extension service, two members of a West German technical-assistance team, and staff members of the university's department of agricultural eco-

nomics and extension. Mosher's draft lectures were circulated among other extension specialists in Asia and became a part of the raw materials for an A/D/C interregional seminar on teaching agricultural extension that was held in Sri Lanka in October 1975.

Mosher was attracted to the Sri Lanka assignment by an invitation to create an institute of graduate studies in agriculture at the university, making it possible for more Sri Lankans to obtain advanced training in their home country. The university was mandated not so much to copy the master's-degree programs of foreign universities as to create courses suited specifically to Sri Lanka and its agricultural conditions. Mosher's course in extension and other courses developed in agricultural economics were meant to serve that objective.

Mosher completed his assignment in Sri Lanka in December 1976 and retired from the council. To mark this occasion and recognize his 19 years of continuous service, the council published a collection of his writings, *Thinking About Rural Development* (1976). The volume included at least a score of journal articles and papers written during Mosher's council years and an introduction in which he set forth some of his thoughts about how effective rural development could be achieved.

Mosher continued to consult in international development and returned to the council as interim president during the transition between Ruttan's departure and Theodore M. Smith's arrival. (See chapter 7.)

One of Ruttan's earliest appointments was the assignment of **C. Geoffrey Swenson** as associate for Indonesia in 1973 in anticipation of the departure the following year of both Alan M. Strout and Taylor. Swenson had recently completed a doctoral program in agricultural economics at Michigan State University that included 8 months of field research in Thanjavur District in South India on employment and income distribution as affected by increases in rice production.

After 2 months of language study in Bandung, Swenson (like Taylor and others before him) became a visiting member of the staff of the socioeconomics department at Institut Pertanian Bogor. His initial teaching duties included a course on agricultural marketing and one on research methods. Within a year after his arrival, plans were completed to inaugurate a master's program in the department that would include a set of required core courses and the usual thesis work. Swenson took responsibility for the microeconomic theory course in that program.

When John Duewel returned to the United States in 1975, Swenson assumed administrative responsibilities for the supplemental program for the rural social sciences. The program, which was developed by Strout and Duewel (see chapter 2), continued to conduct training activities aimed at strengthening Indonesian capacity in social science fields related to rural development.

Swenson's own research interests, growing out of his earlier work in India, centered on income distribution and employment. The locale for much of his study was the town of Bojong in West Java. He and students at the institute collected data for years, investigating income and employment levels of different socioeconomic groups, testing the factors that appeared to determine those levels, and exploring ways and means by which income and employment could be generated or adjusted. Swenson was twice able to return to South India to get more comparable data in Thanjavur District.

Some of Swenson's comments in a November 1976 field report about the state of research in the institute's department applied as well to other agricultural universities:

> One of the serious problems of doing research in Indonesia is the lack of knowledge of previous research. Most libraries are devoid of up-to-date references or, in some cases, lacking references of any vintage. Library development seems to be a low priority...and donor organizations do not generally support library funding. A related problem is not knowing what research others are doing both within one's own institution or at other institutions. A simple, inexpensive documentation program to communicate topics of current research would do much to avoid duplicating efforts and stimulate interaction within the research community.

A related problem was the need for a data bank. Swenson was struck by the wealth of primary data collected by Indonesian researchers and by the potential savings in time and money that could be realized if such data were made available to other users.

In the spring of 1977, Langham left the interregional program office in Singapore and moved to the Los Baños campus in the Philippines, where he replaced Evenson as associate for that country. During the first semester, Langham taught mathematical programming in the department of agricultural economics and commuted to the Diliman campus to offer a course in economic statistics in the school of economics. Langham, who had spent most of his career teaching and advising U.S. graduate students, was kept busy discussing research plans and methods with graduate students at both campuses.

Langham organized two regional seminars on agricultural-sector analysis, one each in 1976 and 1977. The second one brought together 40 participants from universities and government agencies in Asia, the United States, and Germany to discuss theoretical and practical aspects of linkages within and between economic sectors. From a subset of papers reviewed at the two seminars, Langham and Ralph H. Retzlaff (1982) edited a book on the topic.

Ong continued as associate for Thailand during the Ruttan years until his move to Nepal in 1977. He described the role of the associate as he understood it (personal communication, 1985):

> The Associate plays three roles. One, he acts as a catalyst, making contact with government people, university faculty members, researchers, and others in an effort to understand what is happening in the country and to help to get things going. Two, he plays a role that has a yeast-like character, wherein he may make a small investment, like setting up a pilot project or an initial seminar, that has a multiplier effect; for example, a major study or a developing series of seminars and conferences. Three, the Associate does research of his own, sometimes publishing his results, sometimes in other ways sharing it with other Asian scholars.

Ong felt that the role of catalyst was the one best suited to him. His wide circle of professional contacts throughout Asia enabled him to include in A/D/C's network the people most suited to the subject matter being dealt with on any particular occasion. Within Thailand, he got the cooperation of Chiengmai University and the Northern Agricultural Development Center in organizing a seminar on irrigated agriculture in northern Thailand. Similarly, he cooperated with the rubber research center of the ministry of agriculture in organizing a seminar on rubber production and development in southern Thailand.

From his base at Kasetsart University, Ong kept in close touch with the faculties of economics and business administration, education, and social science, and other institutions in Bangkok such as Thammasat and Chulalongkorn universities and the ministry of agriculture and cooperatives. His network also included external aid and donor organizations such as the U.N. regional offices, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the Rockefeller and Ford foundations. Beyond Bangkok, Ong's main links were with staff at Khon Kaen University in the northeast and Chiengmai University in the north. He helped organize and participated in meetings dealing with many Thai concerns: the corn-commodity system, agricultural credit, small-farm development, and agribusiness management.

Ong made many trips to other parts of Asia, including countries where the council had no resident staff such as Korea, Taiwan, Japan, and Hong Kong. He visited China in 1975 but found after exploratory talks that the time was not yet right for A/D/C to begin a program in China.

In all of his travels, Ong promoted two important topics: teaching farm management at Asian universities and strengthening group action among farmers. He was interested in improving and updating farm-management courses and making better teaching materials generally available. In most of Asia, the average farm is less than one hectare. Farm-management practices that depended on manual and animal labor had to change as new crop varieties and production technologies were introduced. Ong collaborated with Tan Bock Thiam of the University of Malaya, a former fellow, in organizing a series of workshops. At one such meeting in Singapore in June 1976 10 profes-

sors from 9 Asian universities reviewed more than 60 publications to assess their suitability for farm-management courses, reference collections, and exercises. The workshops, held under the auspices of the interregional program, led to the publication of a volume of articles about farm management (Tan and Ong, 1979).

Ong's interest in farmer group action came partly from his visit to China, where he observed communes. He believed it could be instructive to compare the commune with other systems of farmer organization, such as farmers' associations and cooperatives. He and John Wong of the University of Singapore organized a seminar in Singapore in August 1977 on the experience and potential for group farming in Asia. Reviewing case studies from eastern, southern, and southeastern Asia, the participants considered the expectations and rationales for group-farming experiments: such experiments may be seen as means of overcoming the inefficiencies of small-scale peasant farming, as ways of facilitating programs of land development or settlement, and as devices for mobilizing local resources to achieve community-development objectives. The following year, a report was published as part of the *Teaching and Research Forum* series (Wong and Reed, 1978), and the year after that a book on group farming was published (Wong, 1979).

THE FINANCIAL CHALLENGE

In 1972 and early 1973, preparing for Mosher's departure as president and the arrival of Ruttan, the trustees discussed at length the state of the council's finances and its future program and funding prospects. In a memorandum presented at one such meeting in 1973, Mosher noted the changing situation in Asia and observed that "the demands being placed on the Council and the opportunities open to it are now greater than ever." Among the new opportunities were the expansion of the interregional program and the strengthening of the research and training network. In addition, the demand for A/D/C-type country programs was increasing, and the need for fellowships was growing.

It was at this meeting that the trustees reiterated their view that the council should seize these opportunities and maintain an active, vigorous program. Funding prospects were encouraging for the near term. Long-term prospects (that is, for the eighties) were less certain. Thus, given the opportunities of the time and the council's conviction that it still had important contributions to make in Asia, the risk was taken to enlarge the program. The trustees assumed that donor support would grow sufficiently to match program requirements. If support could not be generated, then the operations would gradually

be cut back or, if necessary, phased out. The reserve fund, which had assets of approximately $5.6 million (market value), provided a cushion against an abrupt shutdown of activities.

During the Ruttan years, the council's program expanded to meet the many opportunities open to it, and expenditures rose correspondingly. To maintain current support and increase contributions, Ruttan, the trustees, and the staff devoted more time to fund-raising. For example, in April 1973 the council invited representatives of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Ford Foundation, Canada's International Development Research Centre, and the U.S. Agency for International Development to meet and consider a set of background papers that outlined the council's operating assumptions and programs. In the discussion that followed, these donor representatives raised a number of questions about A/D/C's program, including what changes in scope or content were being considered and what new ventures might be explored. This consultation gave the contributors an opportunity to review, together, the work they supported. It was also an opportunity for the new president and the trustees to encourage the donors to maintain or increase their support.

Four circumstances had a direct bearing on the council's financial condition during the Ruttan presidency: the expanding program and the related cost increases, the rise in inflation worldwide, the limits of project support, and the change in international development objectives.

The Expanding Program

A/D/C's program grew to its maximum size from 1973 to 1977. Country activities coordinated by resident associates continued in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, South Korea, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. New programs got under way in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan. The interregional program expanded with increases in fellowships, seminars and workshops, publications, professional exchanges, and staff (see table 14) and a move in 1975 to new and larger quarters in the Regional English Language Center International House in Singapore. At the New York office the fellowship program and the research and training network continued and the output of publications increased. Overall, 51 professional and clerical staff members were employed during the period.

In support of the enlarged program and with the staff increases, expenditures rose correspondingly. Other factors influenced the costs of doing business. Inflation, fueled in large part by the energy crisis, rose alarmingly. Between 1970 and 1977, the consumer price index in the United States nearly doubled; from 1974 through 1977

Table 14. Field staff serving under Vernon Ruttan.

Name	Years with A/D/C	Name	Years with A/D/C
Arthur T. Mosher	1957-1979	Robert E. Evenson	1974-1977
Raymond E. Borton	1964-1974	Ralph Retzlaff	1974-1981
Albert H. Moseman	1967-1974	Max R. Langham	1975-1977
Donald C Taylor	1968-1980	William M. Bateson	1975-1978
William L. Collier	1968-1982	Jane Harris	1975-1978
Shao-er Ong	1969-1982	Johannes Palte	1975-1978
Bryant E. Kearl	1970-1974	Edward J. Clay	1975-1979
Alan M. Strout	1970-1974	Benjamin N. F. White	1975-1980
John Duewel	1972-1975	Nancy E. Waxler	1976-1978
C. Geoffrey Swenson	1973-1977	Brian A. Lockwood	1977-1981
Hans P. Binswanger	1973-1980	Veit Burger	1977-1982

the annual increase in the index averaged more than 8%. The salaries and benefits of the professional staff were raised to bring them into line with those prevailing at U.S. universities. The president's office was moved from New York to Singapore, and the New York office was moved to the Sperry-Rand building. Conducting business was more expensive from Singapore than from New York, and in an unforeseen development the Singapore government leveled a severe income tax on the earnings of expatriates employed in the country, a tax burden the council had to bear. Thus, the council's total outlays for the 4 years from 1974 to 1977 were significantly higher than those for the preceding 4 years (see table 15).

Table 15. A/D/C's total expenditures for 1970-1973 compared to those for 1974-1977.

Year	Expenditures	Year	Expenditures
1970	$1,319,846	1974	$1,837,043
1971	1,301,148	1975	2,095,870
1972	1,538,623	1976	2,173,464
1973	1,657,319	1977	2,460,632
Total	$5,816,936	Total	$8,567,009

Note: Figures are rounded.

Project-support Limitations

The grants received by the council—which increased in number under Ruttan's leadership—were made mainly to support specific programs. The Ford Foundation's funding of country programs in Bangladesh and Pakistan, IDRC's support of the interregional program, and the USAID contracts for the program in Nepal and the research and training network all were examples of grants and con-

tracts designed to enlarge A/D/C's scope of operations and to enable it to do more of what it was already doing. More graduate-training fellowships were activated, more research grants were made, the number of publications was increased, publications were mailed to a wider audience, and the network of seminars and workshops drew together a larger and more diverse circle of participants.

Project grants did not provide for the support of the professional staff needed to run the projects (with a few exceptions) nor for the related administrative and overhead costs. The council met such expenses from its core budget. The council maintained its independence by recruiting the professional staff and maintaining and directing them in keeping with its normal personnel and program policies. All associates and specialists were integral and equal members of the A/D/C family. The donors could credit themselves with direct program support, unencumbered by the less-appealing costs of personnel and administration.

In retrospect, the council ought perhaps to have calculated and pressed for an overhead percentage to supplement actual program costs. That it did not do so was the result of two considerations: First, its annual unrestricted income from Rockefeller and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and income and dividends from capital-fund investments did not appear to be in jeopardy and allowed for project reinforcement and program flexibility. Second, by retaining its independence, the council avoided becoming the captive of its projects; that is, it avoided having to limit its activities to those prescribed by its contracts.

The increase in the council's program activities and in the number of special projects added to administrative and support costs, diminishing the funds available from the core budget. The result was a series of annual draws on the capital of the reserve fund. With no appreciable replacement of capital by unrestricted gifts and with little prospect of future infusions, by 1977 the trustees and officers were worried and uncertain about the council's future.

Shifts in International Development Objectives

In the latter half of the 1970s, the international development community shifted its thinking about economic development. A new development strategy began to emerge. Government, intergovernmental agencies, and the large foundations that were engaged in international work wanted to achieve more measurable, short-term goals. The new themes considered the *poorest of the poor* and *basic needs*.

In a 1974 paper, "Integrated Rural Development Programmes: A Historical Perspective," Ruttan reviewed this new direction:

> The basic needs approach represents a radical departure from conventional development strategy. The evolution from growth as the principal performance criterion to basic needs is an evolution from abstract to concrete objectives, from a preoccupation with means to a renewed awareness of ends.... Meeting the basic needs of the poor is, in this view, the central focus of development policy and planning.

The new emphasis led to a concentration on such specific targets as increasing life expectancy, increasing the rate of literacy, reducing infant mortality, and cutting back the high birth rate. The council was neither equipped nor inclined to undertake such programs. Yet it became apparent that its conventional social science training and research programs were seen as less important and, therefore, less in demand.

To add to the council's growing difficulties during this period, one of the council's major training and research partners, the network of U.S. land-grant universities, began to change its priorities. For two decades, many of the colleges of agriculture had actively engaged in overseas research and institution building and support of graduate students from the third world. Now they were encouraged, and in some cases compelled, to devote more attention to problems being faced locally by farmers and farm-related businesses. Those that continued international work, particularly in the social sciences, focused on designing and evaluating projects and providing short-term technical assistance aimed at basic-needs targets. Faculty members in the departments of agricultural economics, rural sociology, and extension could not get assistance from USAID, their primary funding partner, to support the longer-term research and training that had been a central component of their work in the past.

Donor Fatigue

Another obstacle to new or renewed funding for the council's work may have been what Evenson once referred to as *donor fatigue.* Some who had supported the council in the past shifted that support to other appeals that they deemed more urgent. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, for example, had been a generous contributor of unrestricted funds for more than 20 years. By the mid-1970s, the fund had begun to gradually phase out this grant.

Another sentiment often voiced or implied by potential donors was that if the council had Rockefeller's backing—which it did until his death—it had less need for other support.

THE ROLE OF THE TRUSTEES

Fifteen trustees served during Ruttan's tenure. Nine had served with Mosher as well—**Nyle C. Brady, Charles E. Dennison,** J. Norman Efferson, **Walter P. Falcon, Nicolas Luykx, Whitney Macmillan,** Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., and **Gilbert F. White**—and another six were appointed between 1973 and 1977—**James H. Bish, T. Scarlett Epstein,** Kenzo Hemmi, **John P. Lewis,** McLean, and **Howard A. Steppler.** (See appendix A for trustee's names, professional positions at time of appointment, and years served.) The council's president was an ex officio member of the board of trustees. As noted earlier, McLean replaced Rockefeller as the board's chairman in 1974.

The role played by the trustees in council affairs was referred to in chapter 2. At the semiannual meetings they had certain duties to perform: They reviewed and approved budgets, expenditures, staff appointments, grants, and fellowships. Beyond these duties and in connection with them, the trustees were a consultative body that worked with the president on a wide range of matters. Most trustees were engaged in professional international work and were acquainted with the council's field staff and programs. They were individuals to whom the president and the staff could turn for suggestions or advice on activities that were unfolding.

The following are some of the subjects of trustee discussions during the Ruttan years:

- Moving the president's office to Singapore. Was the experiment feasible? What administrative rearrangements would be required? Could the necessary donor and trustee contacts be maintained? In hindsight, the move probably was a mistake. Ruttan was able to maintain an active professional life in Singapore, but the care and nurture of the organization required his presence in the United States. The financial costs were substantial for the move to Singapore and for the return move to New York 2 years later.
- Determining the suitability of contracts with the U.S. government. The council was already accepting funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development in support of the research and training network and the U.S. fellowship program. Because these were U.S.-based programs, the council felt fairly secure that its Asian colleagues and beneficiaries would not see A/D/C as too closely tied to the U.S. government. A new question was raised, however, as to whether USAID funding should be accepted in direct support of project work in Asia (that is, the council's work in Nepal). This was not the first time that the council had to ask whether it could maintain its independence in staff recruitment, decision-making, and day-to-day operations if its staff was directly supported by U.S.

project funds. How would the program be affected by future, and possibly adverse, turns in U.S. foreign policy? Would Nepalese colleagues or others in Asia perceive the council as a quasi-government agency? How burdensome would the reporting and accounting requirements be?

- Developing new programs. There was much discussion of the feasibility and timing of the proposed new programs in Bangladesh and Pakistan. On the whole, these were seen as positive moves. The main question was a financial one; namely, what A/D/C resources would be required to supplement the Ford Foundation grants?
- Building stronger connections between the interregional program in Asia and the research and training network in the United States. These two programs had different clienteles. They had in common their seminar and workshop series, but the interregional program focused on the Asian community with participation by westerners while the network followed a reverse pattern. The question was how to link the two more closely. Might both operations be strengthened by jointly sponsoring meetings on issues of common concern, by drawing in more Asians as participants in the network's seminars, by jointly issuing publications, and by distributing their materials to one another's mailing networks? Most agreed on the value of such steps; the discussion centered on how to bring about these closer connections.
- Extending A/D/C's programs to Africa. Throughout the 1970s, the trustees and staff discussed extending an A/D/C-type program beyond Asia to other developing regions. They agreed that the need for building capacity in the rural social sciences was greatest in Africa, but the obstacles to an African initiative were formidable. Should A/D/C start in the French-speaking or the English-speaking regions? From where could the necessary funds come, and could they be sustained for the 8 to 10 years the program would require? Would an African venture be a distraction from the work that still needed to be done in Asia? The conclusion was that the council, with its limited staff and resources, should continue to confine its activities to Asia.
- Increasing Asian representation on the A/D/C staff and board. There was a continuing desire to appoint Asians to the professional staff. The difficulty was that in recruiting a first-class agricultural economist or rural sociologist as an associate, the council would deprive an Asian institution of one of its front-line persons. Since one of the council's objectives was to build up professional capacity in Asia, recruiting the most promising Asians for its own staff appeared to contradict that objective. Even if only one or two Asians were given staff appointments, selecting an individual for a coveted

A/D/C position would be seen as overlooking others who were equally well qualified.

The Asian fellowship program named Asian social scientists as members of the fellowship committee that selected new fellows and monitored the progress of those already in the program. Asians also were recruited as short-term specialists, consultants, and visiting professors to serve institutions in Asia as part of the interregional program.

Recruiting Asians for A/D/C's board of trustees was easier than recruiting them for the staff. The main concern was to find a suitable candidate who was professionally active and resident in Asia, not in the West. The first Asian trustee was Kenzo Hemmi of the University of Tokyo, who was elected to the board in 1976.

- Handling financial matters. The trustees and, in particular, the finance committee wrestled with financial questions that became more acute in the later years of the Ruttan administration. They were concerned about the escalating costs of the enlarged program and the successive draws against the reserve fund that were necessary to keep the program going. Should the program continue at its present size, or should steps be taken to cut back to whatever limits would be imposed by relying only on current income? Where could new funds be found, and what steps could be taken to attract prospective donors? The trustees had to discuss and decide financial matters that they had not had to consider in the past because in prior years income had matched expenditures.

  The trustees believed in the council's mission, but perhaps they should have been firmer in resisting the expansion of the program and the steady drain on the organization's capital. Eventually, the trustees were forced to confront the question of the council's survival. They again reviewed the possibility of phasing out the program over several years and, in the process, using up the resources in the reserve fund.

In the fall of 1977, as Ruttan moved the president's office back to New York, he notified the trustees of his intention to resign and return to the University of Minnesota. He said he wanted to be relieved of the administrative and management chores imposed by the office and to resume a teaching and research career. In the prevailing climate, he foresaw new demands and a different role for the council's president: He thought the council needed a leader who would devote major attention to administration and fund-raising, and that was a role he did not find congenial.

Ruttan made important contributions to the council, first as a trustee and later as its president. He recruited staff of high caliber; he developed new programs and a wider circle of professional contacts,

both in Asia and in the West; and he made a significant contribution to agricultural and rural development through his research and writing.

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James A. Roumasset (facing camera, right) conducts a seminar at the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1978.

A TIME FOR DECISION
1978 to 1979

When Vernon W. Ruttan departed at the end of 1977 with no successor at hand, the trustees persuaded Arthur T. Mosher to return as interim president. Mosher served for 18 months that John P. Lewis described as "a time for decision."

The first order of business was the search for a new president. A committee formed for this purpose was chaired initially by Lewis and later by Walter P. Falcon. Program initiatives and new staff appointments were deferred for the most part during the search.

The New York office staff continued. Abraham M. Weisblat and **Mary Alice Price** directed the research and training network; Grace Tongue and Virginia Connors managed the fellowship program. **Victoria Karpathy,** who had joined the staff in 1975, was accountant and assistant treasurer; **Ann M. Larson** was administrative assistant and secretary to the president. A. Russell Stevenson continued as administrative officer, treasurer, and secretary to the board of trustees. **Ivonne Garcia** remained as publications secretary.

A number of changes were made in the composition of the field staff. Six individuals left the council as their assignments were completed: William M. Bateson in Nepal, Edward J. Clay in Bangladesh, Jane Harris in the Asia office, Johannes Palte and C. Geoffrey Swenson in Indonesia, and Nancy E. Waxler in Sri Lanka. In two cases it was important to fill country positions quickly, and the necessary staff was recruited: **Carl E. Pray,** a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Pennsylvania, became associate for Bangladesh in November 1978. Also in 1978, **James A. Roumasset,** an agricultural economist from the University of California, Berkeley, was given an 18-month specialist appointment in the Philippines, where he took on teaching and research responsibilities at both the Los Baños and Diliman campuses.

A/D/C's board of trustees also underwent changes. In January 1979, Donald H. McLean, Jr., resigned as chairman and was suc-

ceeded by Falcon. Lewis also left the board, leaving seven trustees: James H. Bish, J. Norman Efferson, T. Scarlett Epstein, Kenzo Hemmi, Whitney Macmillan, Howard A. Steppler, and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.

Despite their agreement to suspend most program and personnel decisions, the trustees were not idle. They reviewed and discussed at length two reports resulting from studies of the council's programs and activities. The first was a 1976 review, "An Evaluation of the Agricultural Development Council," prepared by Falcon (1976) for the Ford Foundation. The second, a 1977 report, "A/D/C: A Time for Decision," was prepared by the trustee review committee chaired by Lewis and including Efferson, Falcon, and Wharton (Lewis, 1977). Both studies concluded that the council had made important and distinctive contributions to agricultural and rural development in Asia; that its services were still needed, though with altered country and program emphases; and that the continuation of the work required more substantial funding, particularly infusions to the capital reserve fund.

The Falcon evaluation helped the Ford Foundation as it considered extending its support of A/D/C's core program. Falcon conducted a 6-week, five-country tour of Asia in July and August 1976, meeting with council staff, former fellows, and officials of government and private development agencies. His assessment was encouraging. He reviewed the council's organization and management and enumerated some of its successes: its continuity of focus within countries; its catalytic role in keeping the needs of Asians paramount; its effective decentralization, using a cadre of well-trained associates and specialists; its impressive record of training and career support for Asian rural social scientists; its versatile publications program; and its cost effectiveness.

Falcon also pinpointed a number of potential problems, including the following:

- Time allocation. Field staff had to apportion their time among the competing demands of assisting local colleagues and institutions, participating in regional activities, conducting individual research, writing for publication, and keeping on top of administrative requirements.
- Disciplinary focus. The council needed to decide whether it should broaden its emphasis on agricultural economics to give greater attention to the noneconomic rural social sciences and agricultural policy and sector analysis.
- U.S. presence. The council needed to maintain more active contact with colleagues at U.S. universities and among donor agencies. Such contact was seen to be of increasing importance for the council's recruiting and fund-raising efforts, in particular.

- Terms of reference with host institutions. The council needed to be more flexible, more sensitive to the role of expatriate organizations within Asia, and more encouraging of Asian interest and participation.
- Role of the regional office. A clearer definition was needed of the role of the regional office versus the role of associates in fulfilling their country obligations. A/D/C needed to ensure—in training, research, or other activities—that the regional program was catalytic to, not independent of, the country programs.
- Funding. The financial situation—both income and expense—needed to be examined. Falcon suggested that a consortium of donors be formed to enlarge income and that efforts be increased to build up the reserve fund. He also recommended to the Ford Foundation that it continue its annual core-budget support or consider a sizeable capital grant.

The report of the trustee review committee described an internal study designed to aid the trustees as they contemplated A/D/C's future. With its heavier focus on the future, the Lewis report considered a broader and longer-run array of alternatives than Falcon was asked to examine. It made four major recommendations:

- The council's activities in Asia and the research and training network could be continued productively throughout the 1980s if the program could be supported by a core budget of $3 million a year.
- If $3 million a year could not be assured, the council's activities should be phased out as its income and reserve fund were depleted.
- The council should consider what type of program would be most appropriate for sub-Saharan Africa and how it might be funded.
- The council should seek a commitment from present donors for support through the 1980s and an expansion of the number of donors (possibly including multilateral donors).

During 1978 the trustees met five times. Four of the meetings were devoted to considering the two reports and discussing the council's condition and prospects.

In April, the trustees and staff met with representatives from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre, and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Most of these donor representatives were acquainted with the council's work and offered a number of suggestions:

- A/D/C should focus on certain key problems such as irrigation and water management, farm mechanization, food-policy analysis, income distribution, livestock agriculture, the role of women in development, and rural poverty. This concentration on a select set of problems would differ from the council's traditional method of letting the associates, in consultation with the president and trust-

ees, direct programs that evolved in a less structured and less topic-oriented way.

- The council should intensify its work in the poorer countries of South Asia, specifically Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.
- The attention given to the development of individuals should continue as a guiding principle, but equal attention should be given to working with key training and research institutions.
- The council should become more active in exploring contract possibilities. Agencies such as the World Bank and USAID needed competent partners to carry out much of their work, and the council was well suited to be a contracting partner.

On June 12, 1978, the trustees' committee on the future met, chaired by Rockefeller. The committee's task was to find satisfactory answers to the central questions of leadership, program, and funding. Rockefeller introduced the funding question early in the discussion. He recognized that resolving the financial problems would greatly facilitate program decision-making and the recruitment of a strong leader. He therefore announced his intention to get a terminal grant of $3 million from Rockefeller Brothers Fund and to contribute $2 million from his personal funds, payable over the next 5 years. The committee's minutes (A/D/C, 1978b) recorded the reaction of those present:

> This announcement of Mr. Rockefeller's intention was received with great appreciation by all of the members of the committee. It effectively breaks the logjam of the interlocking problems facing the council. It ends any need to consider closing out the work of A/D/C in the near future. It allows us to proceed with a realistic discussion of future programs, and it will make it far easier to find a good president.

In the ensuing discussion, the consensus was that the council should take the following steps (A/D/C, 1978b):

- Make a special effort to help increase the number of trained rural social scientists in Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka and draw them into professional cooperation with persons in the other countries of South and Southeast Asia.
- Continue to emphasize postgraduate training in Asia and give priority to stationing associates at Asian universities where they can help to strengthen graduate programs.
- Provide more opportunities for the increasing number of Asian professionals to work together on priority problems of agricultural and rural development.
- Give greater attention to some of the problems of first importance, such as water management, mechanization, and perhaps livestock agriculture. The role of women in development might best be approached by ensuring that all projects and programs include a consideration of this issue, rather than treating the topic in isolation

from other matters.

- Provide for work in some of the problem areas by selecting staff who already have complementary interests, with the understanding that in their research they will concentrate on one or more of the priority topics.
- Be alert for opportunities to expand the program by seeking grants for special projects and enter into contracts insofar as they allow the council to do more of what it would like to do anyway. In its contracts, the council should insist on funding that meets the full cost of the activity, including overhead.

The optimism generated at the June meeting of the committee on the future was short lived. Less than a month later came a shattering event. Rockefeller was killed on July 10 in an automobile accident near his home in Tarrytown, New York. His death had serious and far-reaching implications for the council. The trustees and staff were deprived of his presence and his unwavering interest in the council's activities. Rockefeller was always an active participant in trustee meetings and discussions. In his trips to Asia and in occasional attendance at staff conferences he kept abreast of program development. He was a personal friend and counselor to the A/D/C president and other staff members. And his death threw into doubt prospects for future funding from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and from Rockefeller's resources.

The trustees convened a special meeting in September to review the situation and to discuss and agree on a proposal to be submitted to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. On September 13 a final draft of the proposal was forwarded to the fund's trustees. The 16-page proposal reviewed the history of the council. It traced the evolution of the programs and outlined some of the current needs and opportunities in Asia, the state of the council's finances, and the funding required if the council were to continue to work effectively in the 1980s. On the basis of that information, the document proposed a terminal grant of $3 million from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, in line with the expectation that Rockefeller had raised shortly before his death.

On November 16, a few days before the trustees' last meeting in 1978, word was received that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund had declined the council's request. It also became apparent that the funds Rockefeller had intended to give the council would not be forthcoming from his estate.

The trustees discussed two possible courses of action. One was to begin planning to close out the programs in the near future if 1) the council's initial objectives had been achieved, 2) Rockefeller's support was essential to effective continuation, and 3) the reserve fund contained sufficient funds to permit an orderly phase-out of operations by honoring fully all current personnel and program commitments.

An alternative was to continue the existing program for at least 3 or 4 more years and to try during that time to generate enough new financial support to continue for a longer period. Additionally, the trustees and staff would try to enlarge and diversify the program along the lines discussed at earlier meetings.

Both the staff and the trustees contributed their thoughts and, not surprisingly, a mix of opinions was expressed. In the end, the prevailing view was that the council should continue. All agreed to intensify the search for a new president, an individual who would be capable of directing new program development while giving equal attention to working with donors and raising funds.

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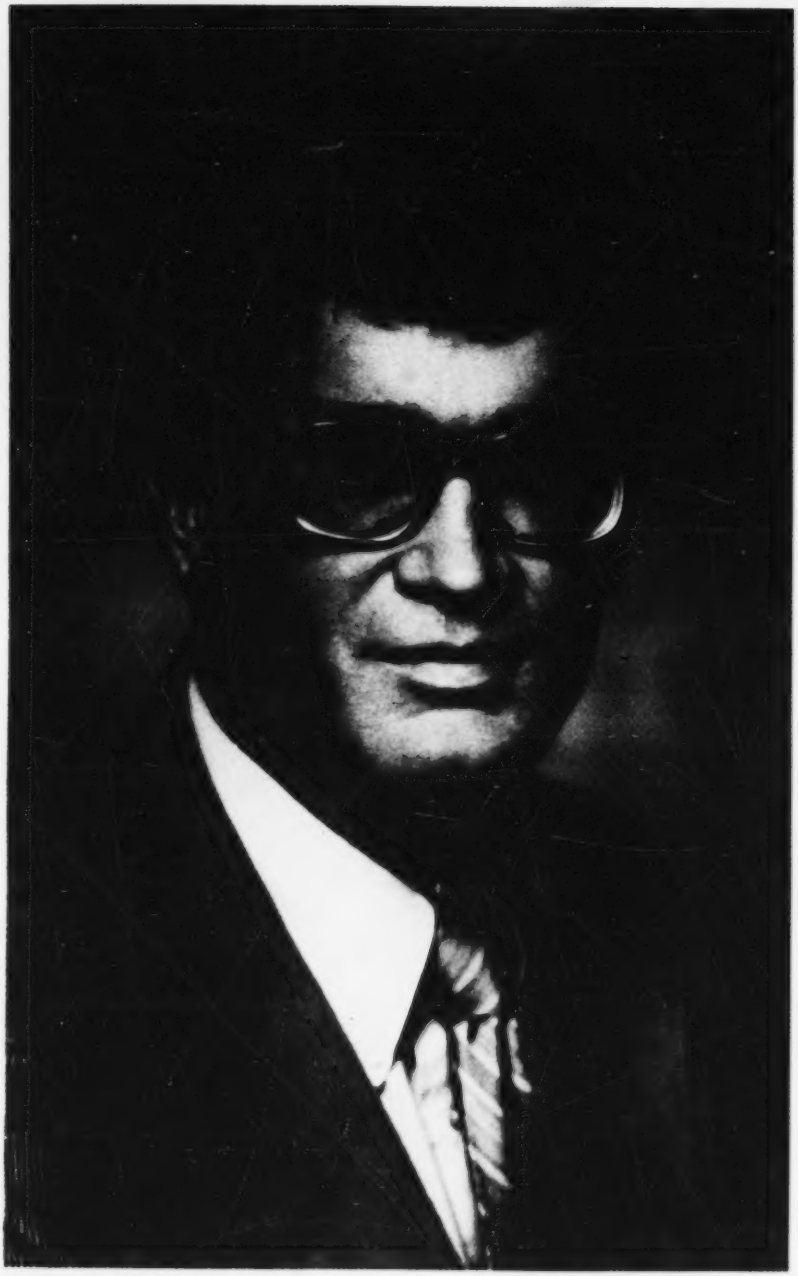

Theodore M. Smith. (*Pach Brothers, New York*)

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THE SMITH YEARS
1979 to 1985

By June 1979, A/D/C's new president, **Theodore M. Smith,** had settled into his position in the New York office. Smith, who received his Ph.D. in public management from the University of California, Berkeley, had held a number of positions with the Ford Foundation over 12 years. He came to A/D/C from his position as the foundation's representative in Indonesia.

As the council's new leader, Smith received two quite different messages from people inside and outside the organization. The first message came from current and former staff members, former fellows, and personnel of cooperating universities and agencies in Asia: For 25 years the council had performed a worthwhile service in training Asians for future academic and policy roles, and that service was still needed. The second message came from current and potential financial supporters: The A/D/C package of graduate fellowships, seminars, workshops, networks, and small grants, though useful, did not bear directly enough on Asia's current rural problems. In the 1970s donors began to support activities with narrower foci that promised more-immediate results. To accommodate both of these views, and in accordance with some of the conclusions reached at their 1978 meetings, Smith and the trustees decided on a group of program themes around which the staff (see table 16) began to organize many of the council's activities.

PROGRAM THEMES

The three program themes chosen were irrigation and water management, renewable resource management, and employment and rural labor markets (see tables 17 and 18). These issues did not become A/D/C's exclusive areas of concern. The council's program remained flexible enough to encompass work in other subject areas as country, staff, or training circumstances warranted.

Table 16. Field staff serving under Theodore M. Smith.

Name	Years with A/D/C	Name	Years with A/D/C
Donald C. Taylor	1968-1980	Jean-Paul Malingreau	1980-1985
William L. Collier	1968-1982	Thomas C. Walker	1980-1985
Shao-er Ong	1969-1982	Peter H. Calkins	1982-1983
Hans P. Binswanger	1973-1980	John C. Cool	1982-1985
Ralph H. Retzlaff	1974-1981	Gerald C. Nelson	1982-1985
Benjamin N. F. White	1975-1980	Paul T. Perrault	1982-1985
Brian A. Lockwood	1977-1981	Michael B. Wallace	1982-1985
Veit Burger	1977-1982	Theodore Panayotou	1983-1985
Carl E. Pray	1978-1980	Frederick C. Roche	1983-1985
Gerard Rixhon	1978-1985	Wanpen Dyche	1984-1985
K. Vanida Tulalamba	1979-1985	Jefferson M. Fox	1984-1985
S. Lee Travers	1980-1982	Bruce Glassburner	1984-1985
Gerard J. Gill	1980-1985	Thomas R. Gottschang	1984-1985

Table 17. Examples of theme-related research grants.

Subject	Researcher	Country	Year
Irrigation and Water Management			
Economic analysis of alternative strategies for irrigation development in Malaysia	Group/faculty study, Universiti Pertanian, Serdang	Malaysia	1979
Indirect impact of the Upper Pampanga River Irrigation Project	Severino Estrella (M.S. thesis)	Philippines	1979
Economic analysis of water pump use by farmers in Karawang District, West Java	Chaerul Saleh, Agro-economic Survey, Bogor	Indonesia	1980
Comparative study of managing irrigation water in the government-operated Narayani Zone irrigation-development project and farmer-operated surface-irrigation projects	Devendra Raj Pandey, Kathmandu	Nepal	1984
Community participation in the management of irrigation resources: A case study of Khardep-funded irrigation schemes in East Nepal	Mahesh Prasad Pant, Kathmandu	Nepal	1984
Irrigation-management systems in Bangladesh	M.A. Hakim, Rural Development Academy, Bogra	Bangladesh	1984
Renewable-resource Management			
Socioeconomic study of the livestock sector in Punjabi villages	Faculty/student study, University of Agriculture, Faisalabad	Pakistan	1979

Table 17. Examples of theme-related research grants (continued).

Subject	Researcher	Country	Year
Sea fishing in South Sulawesi	Natsir Nessa, Hassanuddin University	Indonesia	1980
Social forestry among the Baro people of Mymensingh District	Kibraul Khaleque, University of Dhaka	Bangladesh	1983
Natural-resource management; individual studies on diverse topics	Agricultural Projects Services Centre, Kathmandu	Nepal	1984
Impact of farm size and tenurial status of land on resource productivity in Mymensingh District	Md. S. R. Bhuiyan, Agricultural Research Institute, Dhaka	Bangladesh	1984
Employment and Rural Labor Markets			
Impact of power tiller on productivity, employment, and income distribution	Mahbudul Alam, Dhaka University	Bangladesh	1980
Analysis of income and employment opportunities for migrant laborers and their determinants	Jusuf Colter, Agricultural University, Bogor	Indonesia	1980
Role of women in food production	Diponegoro University, Semarang	Indonesia	1980
Labor use, institutions, and nonfarm labor supply among farm households	Krishna K. P. Rauniyar, Kathmandu	Nepal	1984
Wages and welfare: The case of attached vs casual labor in the Nepal Terai	Bhimendra Katwal, Kathmandu	Nepal	1984
Study of factors affecting the employment of rural women in Bangladesh	Nazmir Nur Begum, Dhaka University	Bangladesh	1984

Irrigation and Water Management

For more than a decade, the council had sustained an interest in the crucial issue of making water available for food-grain production. This interest had been sparked by the work of Donald C. Taylor during his years as an A/D/C visiting professor and associate, first in southern India and later in Indonesia and Malaysia. (See chapters 2 and 6.)

Taylor's work was reinforced by other council activities. Several A/D/C fellows conducted thesis research in irrigation and water management, and the council made research grants to support local

Table 18. Examples of theme-related seminars and workshops.

Subject	Location (sponsor)	Year
Irrigation and Water Management		
Research issues in coastal-zone management	Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1970
Making irrigation useful for disadvantaged groups	New York City (research and training network)	1980
Investment decisions to further develop and make use of Southeast Asia's irrigation resources	Kasetsart University, Kamphagsaen, Thailand	1981
Renewable-resource Management		
Natural-resource management in developing countries	Agricultural University, Serdang, Malaysia	1979
Improving farming systems for the Nepal hill areas—a series of training workshops	Agricutural Projects Services Centre, Kathmandu, Nepal	1980
Management of forest resources: Issues of forest policy in the developing countries in Asia	Los Baños, Philippines (A/D/C, Japan Center for International Exchange, Southeast Asia Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture)	1983
Employment and Rural Labor Markets		
Adjustment mechanisms of rural labor markets in developing areas	Hyderabad, India	1979
Integrating women into the mainstream of national development	Agricultural Projects Services Centre, Kathmandu, Nepal	1981
Mechanization of small-scale peasant farms	Hangzhou, China (A/D/C, Japan Center for International Exchange, Chinese Academy of Agricultural Mechanization Sciences)	1982

research in Asia. Repeatedly, the council's seminars and workshops dealt with such problems as managing irrigation systems (1972), organizing for equitable control and use of water (1973), setting irrigation policy and managing systems in Southeast Asia (1976), and evaluating the effects of irrigation on employment and economic growth (1979). The council issued an array of publications on irrigation issues, including monographs, seminar reports, and *Teaching and Research Forum* and staff papers.

By the time Taylor left the council in 1980 he had coedited with Thomas Wickham *Irrigation Policy and Management of Irrigation Systems in Southeast Asia*. He also had produced two substantial analytical papers: "An Economic Analysis of Malaysia's Paddy Irrigation Sector," which reviewed the history of Malaysia's irrigation and provided an economic analysis of hundreds of the country's irrigation schemes, and "An Economic Analysis of Irrigation Scheduling and Paddy Production: Kemubu Agricultural Development Project, Kelantan," which dealt with the economic effects of one of Malaysia's more extensive irrigation systems. Shortly after Taylor's departure, A/D/C held a conference in Thailand on irrigation in 1981. Papers from this conference were edited by Wickham and published as *Irrigation Management Research from Southeast Asia*.

Interest in irrigation also increased among other council associates. At the request of the Bangladesh Ministry of Agriculture, Carl E. Pray analyzed information on crops grown using improved irrigation techniques within various agroclimatic areas. Pray's assistant in this study was A. B. Siddique of Rajshahi University's department of economics. Later, under a council grant, Siddique conducted an economic analysis of shallow tubewell irrigation in northwestern Bangladesh.

In Pakistan, Brian A. Lockwood worked with the research staff of the Punjab Economic Research Institute in Lahore to evaluate Pakistan government subsidies for private diesel tubewells. The project entailed training Pakistanis in survey design, field-work methods, analysis, and report writing.

In Nepal, Veit Burger and his colleagues at the Agricultural Projects Services Center were struck by the importance of carefully planned water distribution in bringing limited arable land to greater levels of production. This interest led them to examine a number of small irrigation projects in the hill areas built and managed by groups.

In 1980, **Thomas C. Walker** became associate for India, replacing Binswanger as a member of the economics unit at the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT). Walker reported on ICRISAT's interest in irrigation, much of it directed toward shaping land to improve drainage, water collection, and storage of runoff in small ponds for supplementary irrigation. Other

research in which Walker participated included economic analyses of emerging farming technologies and studies of some of the social dimensions of irrigation as they affect the management of water distribution and the collection of water-use fees.

Wherever irrigation was studied in South or Southeast Asia, it was critically important to establish an Asian professional group that could improve existing irrigation and water-management practices and introduce new ones for the future.

Renewable-resource Management

Smith made a case for renewable-resource management in a March 1980 paper. He said (Smith, 1980),

> There is a growing recognition in South and Southeast Asia that population pressures and expanded development undertakings are jeopardizing long-term productivity. The hill areas of Nepal are an extreme case, but deforestation and the resulting erosion which leads to siltation in dams and flood plain irrigation systems is common to much of Asia....The present arable land in Asia is already heavily utilized, increasing the pressures to exploit not only the hill but also the coastal zone areas....
>
> Interest in the management of land, water, and forest resources, in the carrying capacity of the land, in fragile ecological zones of Asia is directly related to A/D/C's concern for long-term agricultural productivity. And because of its concern for agriculture, the Council is concerned for resource management.

Smith went on to suggest that the problems associated with resource management are related not only to the natural and physical sciences but also to human and economic concerns and, in the council's view, at that time far too few Asians were trained as social scientists and available to work on the complex problems of resource use and management.

Some work in this area had already been initiated by A/D/C associates and their university colleagues. For example, in Indonesia William L. Collier was conducting research on ways of assessing the agricultural potential of marginal lands. One study, which involved faculty and students of Lambung Mangkurat University in Kalimantan and Brawijaya University in East Java, focused on the social and economic implications of developing coastal wetlands. This project had immediate relevance because the areas under study had very recently been opened by the government for transmigration and, in addition to the flood of settlers who were subsidized by the government, there was a spontaneous influx of immigrants who had not been planned for.

The study was done by two research teams, each composed of 7 faculty members and 14 students from the participating universities.

The project's principal aims were to achieve a clearer understanding of the areas' traditional cropping systems, which were being adopted by spontaneous immigrants, and to compare these practices with those encouraged by the government among the subsidized settlers. The subjects examined included rice yields, income, production constraints, and the role played by women in production. The findings were useful in several ways, such as evaluating migration projects and assessing the prospects for agricultural development in swampy, marginal lands.

A number of seminars, some sponsored by the regional office, were sparked by this study and by other research led by Collier. *Man, Land, and Fish: Coastal Resource Use and Development in Asia,* which was edited by Collier and released by A/D/C in 1981, summarized a great deal of the research on renewable resources.

In southern Asia, Walker participated in research on natural resources at ICRISAT, focusing on managing common-property resources such as groundwater, pasture lands, and forests. Social organization and livestock-crop interactions became increasingly important as the Indian population continued to grow and communal grazing lands were depleted, limiting access to the animal draft power necessary for cultivation.

In Pakistan, Lockwood supervised the research of a colleague, Nek Buzdar, on the effects of landed institutions, input combinations, and management practices on the use of grazing-land resources in tribal areas of Baluchistan Province. When Lockwood moved to Malaysia in 1982, he helped establish the first graduate course in fisheries economics at Universiti Pertanian Malaysia.

In Nepal, Shao-er Ong supervised a study on the development potential of hill agriculture. A result of this effort was published in 1981 by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture of Nepal: *Nepal's Experience in Hill Agricultural Development.* In addition, Burger worked with the staff of the Agricultural Projects Services Center on a study of the socioeconomic aspects of livestock production in the hill and mountain areas of the western development region.

Two new staff members brought added strength to the work in resource management. **Jean-Paul Malingreau,** who had a Ph.D. in ecology from the University of California, Davis, was appointed in 1980 as a specialist in natural resources. Malingreau was stationed at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. He assisted in training and research in a field new to Indonesia and to the council: remote sensing, in which data are gathered through aerial photographs and satellite imagery. This technique enables the trained observer to assess agricultural production, the changing effects of population expansion, forest resources, the effects of deforestation, and land changes accompanying development. Malingreau was inter-

ested in monitoring wetland-rice production. Using remote-sensing techniques, he was able to assemble data for comparison with those derived from conventional rice-production research. He helped develop a national training course to encourage a wider use of this new technology.

In January 1983, **Theodore Panayotou** joined the council as a project specialist; later he became an associate. Panayotou had been a Rockefeller Foundation postdoctoral fellow in Thailand before joining A/D/C. He was assigned to the faculty of economics and business administration of Kasetsart University. A resource economist trained at the University of British Columbia, he spent part of his time as a visiting professor, teaching courses and working with graduate students. His primary research interests were fisheries economics, food policy, livestock, and resource management, and he introduced resource economics to the curriculum at Thammasat and Kasetsart universities. Panayotou (field report, 1984) wrote of his increasing collaboration with Thai government and international agencies, in particular with the National Economic Development Board on food-policy studies. "In such studies," he wrote, "it is important to direct policy attention toward the incentive structure, to conflicting objectives, to policy side effects and cost effectiveness. Further, food policy is not just agricultural inputs and irrigation; it is also interest rates and trade."

Two workshops were conducted on renewable resources: one in 1983 in the Philippines and another in June 1985 in Sapporo, Japan. These seminars were cosponsored by the Japanese Center for International Exchange and A/D/C, with financial support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Some of these discussions focused on the conflict between national policies and village-level practice in resource use and conservation. National policies are often doomed to failure because they do not respond to the needs of the people who must carry them out. The second seminar attempted to open communication and improve understanding between these government agencies and the farmers they served.

The Sapporo seminar took place only a few days before the merger—on July 1, 1985. The program in renewable-resource management continued through the merger, becoming part of Winrock International's program.

Employment and Rural Labor Markets

In the 1970s and into the 1980s, no problem faced by developing countries, in Asia or elsewhere, was more severe or complex than rural unemployment and underemployment. A large, idle labor force

was growing larger at the same time that migration of rural workers to the cities was swelling the ranks of the urban unemployed. Governmental and intergovernmental agencies agreed the first step in improving the condition of the rural poor was to increase opportunities for productive employment.

The council was not equipped to tackle the problem of Asian unemployment head on—it could not create jobs directly. However, it could study the issues of employment and rural labor markets and clarify policy choices. Several sets of problems were amenable to analysis by economists, sociologists, extension specialists, and political scientists: employment prospects for rural landless laborers; women's roles within the agricultural labor force, particularly in food production; contractual arrangements and wages in rural areas; and the impact of mechanization on employment within small-scale peasant farming.

The choice of employment as a major program focus had precedent in earlier work by Robert E. Evenson, Hans P. Binswanger, Benjamin N. F. White, Collier, and Lockwood (see chapter 6). In the Philippines in 1972, Evenson inaugurated the Laguna Province survey, which studied the economics of the household and produced findings on the employment of women, time allocation and home production, and labor use within villages. From 1975 onward, with colleagues in Indonesia's Rural Dynamics Survey, White pioneered employment-related studies, including analyses of trends in real wages and employment opportunities for agricultural laborers, employment and income distribution effects of mechanization, patterns of land tenure, policy issues in rural employment, and employment for rural women. Binswanger's 1978 study and resulting monograph, *The Economics of Tractors in South Asia*, led to other council-sponsored studies and seminars on the impact of mechanization on on-farm and off-farm employment. In 1978, a USAID grant enabled Binswanger to administer a series of research grants on mechanization-related topics undertaken by economists in South and Southeast Asia. Collier and an Indonesian colleague, Soentoro, completed studies on land tenure and labor markets in East Java and on land and labor relationships in rice production. In Pakistan, Lockwood supervised graduate students' thesis research on repairing and maintaining farm machinery and on how farmers made decisions about investing in farm machinery.

In the late 1970s, a number of conferences sponsored by the regional research and training program and the research and training network enabled A/D/C staff members and Asian colleagues to review current research on employment and rural labor markets and produced a variety of publications.

With Smith's arrival and the inauguration of the theme approach, the accent on employment issues continued. Until Binswanger's departure from the council in 1980, he continued to collaborate with researchers at ICRISAT and the International Rice Research Institute on the social and economic aspects of agricultural mechanization, and he administered the USAID-funded grants in support of mechanization studies. White, who also left the council in 1980, made further contributions to the study of rural households and the role of women; and he coedited with Binswanger, Evenson, and Florencio a 1980 book, *Rural Household Studies in Asia*. Walker, who replaced Binswanger at ICRISAT in 1980, began a before-and-after study to evaluate the consequences of the diffusion of mechanical threshers in an Indian village. This and similar studies concentrated on the potential of mechanization to displace landless laborers.

In July 1980, the training network, Hokkaido University, and the Japan Center for International Exchange held a seminar in Sapporo on the mechanization of small-scale peasant farming. Participants throughout Asia explored the resources and the constraints facing the rural poor and possibilities for mechanization—the key topic of the seminar—to relieve some of the constraints. Issues discussed included the adaptation of technology to local conditions, the economic and social impact of mechanization, labor-displacement effects, and ways in which mechanization could increase productivity for peasant farmers with small units of land.

Gerard J. Gill, who replaced Pray in Bangladesh, also contributed to the employment theme. *Farm Power and Employment in Asia*, edited by John Farmington, Fredrick Abeyratue, and Gill, was the proceedings of a conference held in Sri Lanka in October 1982. Gill continued to focus on employment problems by looking at how seasonality affects rural labor in Bangladesh.

NEW INITIATIVES

During the final 5 years, 1980 to 1985, the council initiated two new country programs: one in China and one in Côte d'Ivoire. These ventures were the result of earlier interests and continued beyond 1985 under Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development.

China

From its earliest days, A/D/C had links to China. J. Lossing Buck, the council's first director, had served for years as a visiting professor

of agricultural economics at Nanjing University. (The council reprinted Buck's classic study, *Land Utilization in China,* in 1956.) Moreover, Ardron B. Lewis, Buck's associate director, was a colleague of Buck's at Nanjing, and Ong, the council's associate for Thailand and Nepal, was Buck's student at Nanjing.

China had been closed to westerners since 1950. When it reopened in the 1970s, Ong made two visits, one in 1975 and another in 1979. Ong's first visit was in response to an invitation by the Chinese government for overseas Chinese to visit relatives and friends, and his itinerary and contacts were limited. On his second trip, however, Ong traveled as a council representative and tried to contact former colleagues—primarily at the Chinese Association of Agricultural Science Societies at Beijing—and to explore the possibility of establishing links between the council and members of the Chinese agricultural economics profession. This overture led to two developments in 1980: in June, the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Mechanization Sciences sent Le Xiumei, an engineer, to participate in A/D/C's Sapporo seminar on small-farm mechanization; in October, S. Lee Travers, a Mandarin-speaking research scholar, began a 2-year assignment as a council specialist at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences at Beijing. Travers was an agricultural and resource economist, trained at the University of California, Berkeley, who came to A/D/C from the Ford Foundation.

Travers' appointment was seen by both the Chinese and the council as a small first step in rebuilding the Chinese agricultural economics profession. Of mutual concern were issues of agriculture practice and policy and the need to understand the uses and limitations of western social science methods in addressing Chinese agricultural problems.

Late in 1980, Yang Xiandong, the vice minister of agriculture and president of the Chinese Association of Agricultural Science Societies, visited A/D/C's New York offices and invited the council to send a delegation to China the following year. In April 1981, Walter P. Falcon (A/D/C's board chairman), **C. Peter Timmer** of Harvard University (an A/D/C trustee), Ong, and Smith traveled to China, where they were received in Guangzhou, Chongqing, Xian, Wugong, and Beijing. Their discussions with representatives from the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences and with professors of agricultural economics from several agricultural colleges resulted in a memorandum of understanding that formalized A/D/C's role in strengthening agricultural economics in China.

Meanwhile, within the limits then imposed on field visits, Travers continued his work at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He studied rural income, commune and rural enterprises, education in agricultural economics, research sampling methods used by Chinese

A/D/C's delegation to China, April 1981: Walter P. Falcon (front row, center), Theodore M. Smith (second row, second from left), C. Peter Timmer (second row, third from left), S. Lee Travers (second row, fourth from left), and Shao-er Ong (back row, second from right).

social scientists, and the structure of the Chinese economy and how it influenced commune and rural-enterprise development.

Travers (field report, 1981) wrote of the challenge facing the Chinese and expatriates like himself who sought to revive the agricultural economics profession:

> The profession suffered more than most during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), for its farm management emphasis made it vulnerable to charges of promoting capitalist behavior. The first students to study the subject since 1965 began their work in 1977.
>
> The new leadership from 1976 on centered its political program around a theme of national modernization, with one of the four themes being that of agriculture...and an emphasis has now been placed on the use of microeconomic tools for effective management throughout the economy.
>
> The demand for agricultural economists is great. Virtually none of the people's communes, the basic units of rural administration, have staff members with any formal agricultural economics training. Over 200 counties have Agricultural Bureaus responsible for integrating the communes into an input supply and output marketing system....Prefectures and provinces have similar bureaus, and nationally the Agricultural Commission controls several ministries...all of which need agricultural economists, as do the State Planning Commission and the research institutes.

Early in 1982, Peter H. Calkins, a Cornell-trained agricultural economist on the faculty at Iowa State, undertook a 1-year assignment as a council visiting professor at the Northwest Agricultural College at Wugong in Shaanxi Province. Fluent in Chinese, he taught farm-management and computer-applications courses for agricultural economics in addition to shortcourses at other agricultural colleges.

In 1983, Calkins began teaching a three-part series on production economics. The course was held 1 month each year for 3 years with about the same group of students attending throughout. Each segment had coteachers, with Calkins instructing in Chinese and the partner teaching in English. In 1983, the coteacher was D. Gale Johnson of the University of Chicago; in 1984, Alain de Janvry of the University of California, Berkeley; and in 1985, Lovell S. Jarvis of the University of California, Davis.

In 1982 and 1983, other activities reinforced the council's China program. To assist Chinese social scientists who for years had been cut off from their international counterparts, A/D/C sponsored study tours that let individuals visit research centers and universities in the United States, Mexico, Colombia, the Philippines, and Thailand. As part of its publication program, the council distributed professional literature and teaching materials to Chinese agricultural colleges. In 1982 an international seminar on mechanization and small-scale peasant farming was held in Hangzhou and sponsored by the council at which 60 participants, more than half of them Chinese, met for a week to review the experiences of China and other Asian countries.

In 1984, Lee Travers was replaced in Beijing by **Thomas R. Gottschang,** an economic historian from the faculty at the College of the Holy Cross. During his 18 months as the associate in Beijing, Gottschang benefited from excellent research assistance at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and witnessed the steady opening up of China to foreign ideas and professional contact. Like Travers, Gottschang had an office in the Institute of Economics at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. This arrangement was fortuitous for Gottschang, whose main research interest was modern Chinese economic history. The publication of "Structural Change, Disasters, and Migration: The Historical Case of Manchuria" in *Economic Development & Cultural Change* in 1987 was one result of his research during his posting in China. Gottschang also collaborated with a senior Chinese researcher at the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences on a paper, "Management of China's Renewable Resources," which was presented at a conference, "Managing Renewable Resources: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," held in Sapporo, Japan, in June 1985.

Gottschang continued the close relationships with members of the Chinese agricultural economics community that Travers had

established. These included the Institute of Agricultural Economics at the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Chinese Association of Agricultural Science Societies. Gottschang also coordinated courses on resource economics (taught by Travers and Charles Howe at the agricultural academy in June 1984), production economics (presented by Calkins in 1984 and 1985), and agricultural-marketing economics (held in the summer of 1985).

As elsewhere, fellowships were an integral part of A/D/C's program in China. Chen Dabai was the first Chinese student to study in the United States under A/D/C auspices. He began studying for an M.S. degree at Iowa State University in 1983. Seven Chinese students were pursuing graduate degrees at American universities by the time of the merger into Winrock International. At the conclusion of Gottschang's tenure in China, arrangements were made for his replacement, James E. Nickum, to be assigned to the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Nickum, the academy's first long-term foreign visiting scholar, took up residence shortly after the merger.

Africa

As early as 1965, the staff and trustees discussed the possibility of extending the council's sphere of operations beyond Asia. Many of the countries of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East had retarded rural-sector growth and lacked trained rural social scientists. These countries offered excellent opportunities for the council to enlarge its understanding of agricultural and rural development problems. The arguments for initiating a program in Africa were the most compelling. Most development agencies and international donors agreed that the need to develop human resources for agriculture was critical in Africa, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.

Even though a program was needed in Africa and the council was interested in starting one, that initiative had to be deferred. A/D/C's resources were not sufficient to support a venture that, once begun, would need to continue for an extended time. The council was not ready for the organizational adjustments needed to create a separate unit to administer an African program. Finally, the council's commitments in Asia were a heavy and continuing responsibility.

In 1979-80, the impetus to think once again about Africa came from the donors. The Ford Foundation had supported the development of the social sciences in a number of African countries for years, yet these programs did not seem to be as successful as those in Asia, particularly A/D/C's programs.

In 1980, the Ford Foundation and the International Development Research Centre financed a study of ways to develop the rural social sciences in Africa. The International Service for National Agricultrual

Research, which coordinated the effort, solicited the help of Edward J. Clay, former A/D/C associate in Bangladesh. Clay assembled a group of well-known African social scientists into an advisory committee that met three times between 1980 and 1982 and prepared a proposal for a program that was remarkably similar to A/D/C's Asian program. In their last meeting in Nairobi in July 1982, the advisory committee considered several African and African-based organizations that might help implement the proposal. They finally turned to A/D/C for assistance, and the possibility arose for the council to take an initial step in Africa.

In 1982, supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation's West Africa office, the council placed Paul T. Perrault as a visiting professor at the Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (CIRES) at the University of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Perrault, a French Canadian, had a Ph.D. from Stanford University's Food Research Institute. His primary tasks were to strengthen the research program at CIRES and help develop a graduate program in rural economics.

Although this first effort at Abidjan was a modest step, Perrault wrote positively of his experience (personal communication, 1985):

> I feel that A/D/C and CIRES are making a significant contribution to agricultural development in West Africa by this program. There is at present no graduate training in agricultural economics in all of francophone Africa, and no francophone indigenous base for the accumulation of knowledge in the rural social sciences.
>
> The regional character of this training program, which will draw students from francophone West Africa, will set the scene for research networks, a key ingredient of the Council's program. In short, because of the freedom allowed the local A/D/C staff and the support from the Center, it was possible to fit into a national program that espoused most of the Council's traditional program activities.

The board of trustees approved the African initiative and authorized Smith to hire a senior officer to be based in New York to implement the African program. After 30 years of operating in Asia where it had a base of knowledge and network of contacts, A/D/C found itself operating in new surroundings.

To lead the new effort, A/D/C looked for a person who was familiar with Africa. It found such a person in **David F. Nygaard,** who joined the council in January 1984 as vice president. Nygaard had a doctorate in agricultural economics from the University of Minnesota. (Indeed, he had been a graduate student of Ruttan's before Ruttan became president.) He came from the International Center for Agricultural Research in Dry Areas, where he headed the farming systems research program. Including Peace Corps experience and thesis research, Nygaard had spent 9 years living and working in Africa and the Middle East.

At a June 1984 trustees' meeting, Nygaard reviewed the council's

objectives for its emerging Africa program and suggested incremental steps that might be taken to extend activities beyond Côte d'Ivoire to countries such as Kenya, Zimbabwe, Tunisia, Nigeria, and the Sudan. In shaping the Africa program, Nygaard recommended some initial activities: establishing shortcourses, developing professional networks, determining research priorities, and participating in professional meetings about African development problems.

In March 1985, A/D/C cosponsored a conference in Zimbabwe with the German Center for International Exchange and the University of Zimbabwe. The conference, "Agricultural Economics in Africa: Programs, Problems, Prospects," brought about 60 African agricultural economists together, most of them for the first time. The group spent 4 days discussing ways to strengthen rural social science research and training on the continent. Based on the recommendations of the participants, the Ford Foundation granted A/D/C $500,000 to develop a series of research networks.

As the merger approached, after a year and a half of programming in Africa, Nygaard felt that in spite of differences between Asia and Africa, the need was acute for continuing an A/D/C-style program in Africa. Moreover, the flexibility of the council's approach appealed to the Africans. Although Africa's demographic structure differs greatly from Asia's (Africa has many small states that have populations of under 20 million) and its experience in institutional development is much more recent (few African universities are more than 30 years old), similar programs were needed.

The trustees agreed to develop new activities carefully, proceeding country by country, and to take steps only as sufficient funding became available. By 1985, at the time of A/D/C's merger into Winrock International, the Côte d'Ivoire program was in place, a country program in Kenya had been initiated, and a research network was under way.

OTHER STAFF ACTIVITIES

Alongside the new country programs and in addition to its major theme-related activities, the council maintained its other activities in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nepal, and the Philippines.

Bangladesh

In November 1980, Gill replaced Pray as associate for Bangladesh. Gill had a doctorate in economics from the University of Strathclyde, Scotland, and had most recently been a senior research fellow at the

University of Reading, where he was also the field director of a Bangladesh rural-mechanization study. Earlier he had been an education officer with the government of Tanzania and a lecturer in the department of economics at Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia.

Gill's work in Bangladesh followed the typical associate pattern: he maintained contact throughout the country with educators, researchers, and agricultural policymakers. The council's program in Bangladesh, which was in large part supported by Ford Foundation grants, consisted of support for graduate fellowships, research grants, and inter-Asian networking activities. Gill also succeeded in broadening the financial support for his program. In 1984, USAID made a program grant allowing A/D/C to offer 18 master's fellowships and six Ph.D. fellowships to Bangladeshi rural social scientists. Gill personally conducted studies on integrating social and economic aspects of crop-livestock-energy models and integrating ponds into local agricultural systems.

Indonesia

During the Smith years, Indonesia remained a center of council activity. White and Collier completed their service with the council in 1980 and 1982, respectively, but Malingreau continued with the Environmental Studies and Remote Sensing Program at Gadjah Mada University until the summer of 1983, when he was succeeded by **Jefferson M. Fox.** Fox said he was a contractor (interview, 1985), working as a part of the A/D/C staff but under the support and partial direction of the local Ford Foundation office. Fox felt comfortable with the arrangement, which freed him to undertake work that he enjoyed and that was in line with the interests of the council and the foundation. He did some teaching, worked with local researchers, and served as an informal advisor to those directing the Gadjah Mada program. Fox and his research colleagues relied primarily on aerial photographs, less on satellite imagery, to interpret land-use patterns, the state of forestland, and problems of land degradation such as soil erosion.

In the last 2 years before the merger, two other staff members were assigned to Indonesia. **Frederick C. Roche,** an economist who trained at the Food Research Institute of Stanford University, was offered a specialist appointment in March 1983 to teach and supervise research at Brawijaya University. Roche's 3 years there were under a joint arrangement between A/D/C and the Ford Foundation.

The following year, **Bruce Glassburner,** a macroeconomist and professor of economics at the University of California, Davis, was appointed associate for Indonesia. Glassburner taught and conducted research at Institut Pertanian Bogor. It was an important effort by the

council to tie the macroeconomic issues to the development of the rural economy. Before Glassburner's arrival, macroeconomics had not received much attention at the university. In a September 1985 letter, Glassburner wrote of the satisfaction of planning and carrying out a month-long computer-skills workshop for 22 social scientists who represented eight Indonesian institutions of higher learning and agricultural research. Though not a newcomer to Indonesia—he had worked in the country on several occasions under other auspices—Glassburner was newly affiliated with A/D/C, and he remarked particularly on A/D/C's role in manpower development (personal communication, 1988):

> The most important aspect of A/D/C's activity was its high level manpower development. This is most obvious in Indonesia, wherein virtually every agricultural economist of any stature, including one cabinet minister and the Secretary General of the Department of Agriculture, were Council fellows. There is also a long list of A/D/C alumni in vice-rectorships of universities, directorships of research institutions, and major advisory positions to senior officials.

Nepal

The council's program in Nepal, which had become the largest in terms of total expenditures, progressed without major change. It continued to benefit from the USAID grant and from its direct links to the Agricultural Projects Services Center (APROSC) and the Ministry of Agriculture; the arrangement between A/D/C, the government, and USAID remained in place. (See chapter 6.) Ong remained as associate until his retirement in 1981; Burger continued as project specialist until his departure in 1982. Additional fellows were identified and placed in master's-level programs through the Asia fellowship program, and in-country research was supported on a wide range of topics.

One useful feature of the research program was the initiation in 1979 of the Nepal research paper series. Largely through Ong's and Burger's initiative and encouragement, returning fellows reworked their graduate-degree theses for local publication and distribution, each as part of the series. In the 5 years from 1980 to 1985, 25 theses were published. For most of these former fellows, the series offered their first opportunity to publish their work and, beyond such personal recognition, the series made current research results available to a wide audience inside and outside Nepal.

John C. Cool succeeded Ong as associate in 1982 and was joined the same year by **Michael B. Wallace,** who replaced Burger as the project specialist. Cool, an anthropologist, had worked with the council in 1977 when, as the Ford Foundation representative in Paki-

stan, he helped establish the first A/D/C program in Pakistan with a Ford Foundation grant. He also brought to his current assignment the benefit of his earlier experience in Nepal as a USAID officer and 35 years of experience in South and Southeast Asia.

Wallace said A/D/C had a "collegial style of operation, with a small field staff working closely with host country professionals" (personal communication, 1985). Evaluating the council's work in Nepal, he observed:

> One of the most important contributions of A/D/C to the development of the less advanced countries has been its willingness to take a long-range view in deciding how to use its funds most effectively. This has resulted in supporting human capital development, the benefits of which are often apparent only many years later. Many organizations are constrained by internal politics or by external requirements to show concrete results in a short period of time and as a result they cannot take a longer, more complete view of the process of development.

Cool and Wallace broadened the base of financial support for the program. In addition to USAID, Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (a West German organization) became a partner in the program in 1983. This marked the first time a European donor had supported council activities. The International Development Research Centre and the Ford Foundation also supported research activities in Nepal. IDRC funded a series of policy studies at APROSC; Ford's money funded a nationwide competitive program of small research awards.

The Philippines

Following James A. Roumasset's departure in 1979, the council had no full-time staff in the Philippines until **Gerald C. Nelson** arrived in 1982. During the hiatus, the only A/D/C activity had been the maintenance of the fellowship program with periodic visits from Gerard Rixhon of the Bangkok office. In the 1980s, A/D/C was sending more and more Asians to the University of the Philippines at Los Baños for M.S. and Ph.D. training; for example, in 1984 over a dozen A/D/C fellows were on campus.

Nelson, another economics Ph.D. from Stanford University's Food Research Institute, spent 3 years as a visiting professor in the department of agricultural economics of UPLB's college of development economics and management. His previous overseas work had been in Indonesia and Ghana. In addition to teaching and overseeing student research, most of his time in the Philippines was devoted to research on agriculture and natural-resource policy. He worked intensively with several newly returned Ph.D.s on the faculty at UPLB to develop a policy-research program that was based on the work of an earlier project of Christina David of the UPLB staff and that made

major contributions to the development of policy-research capacity at UPLB. Perhaps more important, output from the program was used extensively by the Aquino government in revising agricultural policies and programs when it came to power in 1986.

A major role of the A/D/C representative has always been to supervise the A/D/C fellows studying at Los Baños and to recruit new Filipino candidates for fellowships. Nelson continued that role, opening his office and home to students who needed advice on personal or professional matters. The task of identifying Filipino candidates also let him visit regional universities and meet their staffs.

Nelson's input to the program was both intellectual and administrative. As a final contribution before his departure in June 1985 just before the merger, Nelson prepared a program document that requested approximately $500,000 from USAID to continue the policy work at UPLB for 2 more years.

STAFF CONFERENCES

Under Smith's leadership, the tradition of an annual staff get-together was maintained. Because the council's staff was widely dispersed, all members looked forward to the meeting in Asia. Since the field-staff numbers were small, staff and their spouses assembled for several days of discussion and camaraderie in out-of-the-way places such as Pattaya in southern Thailand and Pokhara in central Nepal. Often, one or two trustees joined these meetings, as did guests who were invited because they were expert in their fields and the council wanted their advice. The staff conference was looked on by many A/D/C field personnel as the high point of the year—the only time at which the council functioned as a single group of professionals and friends.

The last of these conferences was held in mid-April of 1985 in Kashmir in northwestern India. The staff stayed on houseboats near Srinagar, and the meetings were held in the living room of one of the larger boats. The discussion revolved around 32 years of A/D/C history and the lessons learned. The main objective was to make these lessons available to the new organization that would begin in 3 months.

TRUSTEE CHANGES

A number of changes were made in the composition of the board of trustees during the Smith years. The number of trustees had

remained fairly constant at 12, including the president who was an ex officio member. In 1981, however, that number increased to 15, and in 1982 to 16.

Trustees were elected to 3-year terms and could serve no more than three consecutive terms. Only the original group of trustees, appointed in 1953, were exempt from this restriction; of that group, only J. Norman Efferson was a trustee throughout the council's 32 years.

In 1980 two new trustees were elected to replace John D. Rockefeller 3rd and John P. Lewis: **Emery N. Castle,** president of Resources for the Future, an organization concerned with the use of natural resources, and **James P. Houck,** a professor in the department of agricultural and applied economics at the University of Minnesota.

Five trustees were elected in 1981, two of whom replaced departing board members Whitney Macmillan and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. Adding numbers and strength to the board at a time when critical decisions regarding the council's future were under review were **David E. Bell,** director of the Center for Population Studies of Harvard University; **Neva Rockefeller Goodwin** of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who had served on the Rockefeller Brothers Fund board and was a Ph.D. candidate in economics at Boston University; **Raj Krishna,** a professor at the Delhi School of Economics in India and the first trustee to have been a council fellow; **Anne O. Krueger,** a professor in the department of economics at the University of Minnesota and later a vice president for economics and research at the World Bank; and Timmer.

In 1982, **Lowell S. Hardin,** a professor in the department of agricultural economics at Purdue University and a former officer of the Ford Foundation, was elected vice chairman of the board; the following year he replaced Falcon as chairman. In 1983, **Herbert L. Lucas,** an officer of the Carnation Company in Los Angeles, joined the board.

The council's board helped the president and the staff and played a pivotal role in the final years as the council wrestled with its financial problems. The trustees were also active, starting in 1983, in engineering the arrangements that led to the merger of A/D/C with the International Agricultural Development Service and Winrock International Livestock Research and Training Center. Four A/D/C trustees were elected to the board of directors of the merged organization: Castle, Falcon, Hardin, and Lucas. Goodwin was elected to the new board at its first meeting.

During Smith's presidency, changes in the makeup of the overseas staff and trustees were accompanied by changes at the New York office. In the fall of 1980, A. Russell Stevenson retired as administrative officer and secretary-treasurer of the board of trustees and was replaced by **James M. Dillard.** Grace Tongue, A/D/C's fellowship

officer, left the staff in the summer of 1980 after the U.S. fellowship program was terminated. In 1983, Abraham M. Weisblat retired after 25 years of service with the council. And, as already mentioned, David F. Nygaard came on board in 1984.

Others of the New York staff continued their work with the council through part or all of the Smith years. Victoria Karpathy was accountant and assistant treasurer; Ann M. Larson was administrative assistant and secretary to the board of trustees; Mary Alice Price was program assistant for the research and training network and, later, assistant development officer; Ivonne Garcia was publications secretary; and **Jean Behar** was administrative secretary.

FINANCES

When Smith became president in 1979, he inherited a difficult financial situation. (See chapters 6 and 7.) Rockefeller's death, the discontinuation of his annual contribution and that of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the diminished state of the reserve fund left the council in pinched circumstances. Rockefeller may have intended to give a substantial gift to A/D/C to replenish the reserve fund; however, at the time of his death his will had no such provision. Therefore, substantial funds were needed to support the core budget so A/D/C would not have to rely too heavily on contracts and narrowly defined projects and thus weaken its independence and flexibility, the hallmarks of its style.

By mid-1980 Smith had started raising funds. First, he established a capital-fund campaign, a new idea for A/D/C that involved approaching potential donors. A fund-raising consultant, James Duchine, was engaged; a casebook detailing A/D/C's history, current programs, and future plans was prepared; and letters were sent to scores of corporations and foundations. With assistance from some of the trustees, personal visits were made to senior corporate executives across the United States. Additional approaches were made to potential contributors in England, Germany, Hong Kong, and Japan and to individuals in Southeast Asian locales where the work of the council was known.

In addition, appeals for continuing or enlarged support were made to donors who were current council partners: the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre of Canada, and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The campaign got some new donors to contribute, but the funds thus raised were marginal—the core budget required much more money than the campaign was able to raise (see table 19). And just as

the capital campaign was getting under way, the news of a possible merger put potential contributors on hold. Project funding came from ADAB, the Ford Foundation, IDRC, USAID, and a new partner, GTZ of Germany, making it possible to continue and even enlarge the programs in Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Nepal and the Asian fellowship program. However, because these funds were project specific, they did not replenish the core budget.

An important source of income during these years—and one that assured the council of some freedom of action—was the reserve fund investments. This income totaled $1,191,000 over the 5 years from 1980 to 1984.

Table 19. Funds contributed to A/D/C by corporations, individuals, foundations, and governments, 1980-1984.

Contributor	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Corporations					
IBM Far East				60,000	
Chase Manhattan Bank				10,000	
Bankers Trust				5,000	
Morgan Guaranty Trust				5,000	
Manufacturers Trust				1,000	
R. J. Reynolds			5,000		
Citibank					3,000
H. J. Heinz					10,000
Monsanto					5,000
Castle & Cook					500
Dart & Kraft					15,000
Kellog Co.					2,500
Society of Japan Food Industry Executives					10,000
Individuals					
Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd	50,000				
Rockefeller Family	50,000		76,000		
Miscellaneous gifts			16,700	1,500	22,000
Foundations					
Ford	284,000	389,000	658,000	620,000	871,000
Rockefeller		35,000	155,500	140,000	16,000
Rockefeller Brothers Fund			25,000	25,000	25,000
ICRISAT		12,000	12,000	13,500	
International			25,000	15,000	10,000
Banbury				25,000	25,000
Skaggs					11,350
Borden					5,000
John Deere					1,000
Pfizer					1,000
Agricultural & Training Institute					8,000
Governments					
ADAB/Australia	164,000	192,000	284,000	300,000	245,000
IDRC/Canada	259,000	292,000	321,000	60,000	14,000
CIDA/Canada					12,500
GTZ/Germany				80,000	200,000
USAID	651,000	780,000	562,000	368,000	442,000
Totals	1,538,000	1,700,000	2,140,200	1,729,000	1,954,850

Note: Figures are rounded.

Early in the fund-raising campaign the council was excited by the Ford Foundation's offer to grant $2 million if the council could match the gift dollar for dollar. The Ford matching grant was the result of the very positive review of A/D/C conducted in 1981. It concluded (Mellor et al., 1981):

> Based on interviews with approximately a hundred key policy makers, academics, and administrators in Asia—people who are concerned about the problems of their countries and who are actively involved in seeking solutions to them—the Review Team came to the conclusion that there is an overwhelming sentiment in favor of continuation of the Agricultural Development Council's program in Asia in the next few decades. There was a consensus that the Council's small size, and its autonomous and flexible style of operation, are its greatest strengths, and that the ADC should focus on quality and not quantity—that innovation and quality should be the hallmark of the Council's program in the 1980's.

Rounaq Jahan, a Bangladeshi sociologist on the review team, reported on Asians' perceptions of A/D/C, and her remarks were equally laudatory. She wrote (Mellor et al., 1981):

> Two activities of the A/D/C were consistently perceived as useful by the Asians: the fellowship program, and the regional research and information networking through conferences.
>
> In sum, A/D/C was generally perceived as a small but significant organization that played a key role in training rural social scientists of the region. I was amazed that not a single strong negative comment was made about the Council.

However, in spite of this and other reviews the council's fund-raising efforts faltered, and the council unfortunately was not able to match the Ford Foundation's grant. Ford stood by its offer and contributed the $2 million to the new organization at the merger, matching a contribution by the Winthrop Rockefeller Charitable Trust, as the merger was consummated in 1985.

The difficulty Smith and the trustees faced in trying to raise unrestricted funds resulted from a variety of circumstances. In 1980 the prevailing climate among international development donors was not much different from the climate of the 1970s: Donors wanted short-term action programs that promised early results, and they were decreasingly interested in long-term training and research. More time and effort were needed to cultivate corporations and foundations that did not know of the council and its work; hindsight suggests that such an effort should have been started years earlier. And the trustees, a superior group of professionals who were well equipped to advise on program initiatives and program development, were not positioned to be fund-raisers.

In the end, because the council lacked core-budget funds of the kind once provided by Rockefeller and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund,

it was forced to seek more-restricted project funds. It had less freedom to initiate new programs, underwrite long-term professional training, design and support regional and interregional networking for the international rural social science community, or publish and distribute materials that would serve agricultural and rural development practitioners. The council's staff members were frustrated when needs went unmet and opportunities were missed because financial support was not available.

Smith (personal interview, 1985) commented on the A/D/C tradition that by 1984 was disappearing:

> A/D/C demonstrated the importance of a small professional organization serving a professional community internationally. The Council had the flexibility to make choices on the spot, a freedom of funding and not being beholden to current fads, a nonbureaucratic working environment, the ability to place professionals in the field as professionals rather than as administrators or grant managers, and the means of sustaining a dialog among western intellectuals and academics and those in Third World countries in Asia.

With the uncertainty of future discretionary income and the council's consequent inability to sustain its prized independence, the trustees began in 1983 to consider seriously the possibility of a merger with two interested organizations—the International Agricultural Development Service and the Winrock International Livestock Research and Training Center.

STEPS TOWARD MERGER

The first formal step toward merger was taken in May 1983 at a 2-day meeting in Washington, D.C. Representatives of the three interested parties met to discuss the possibility. Two weeks later, A/D/C's representatives at this meeting—Castle, Falcon, Hardin, and Smith—reported to the council's board of trustees on their discussions.

The center and IADS had both been founded in 1975. Two years after the death of Winthrop Rockefeller, former governor of Arkansas, the center was established on Petit Jean Mountain in central Arkansas where the governor had built a renowned livestock operation. Family, friends, and agricultural specialists, in his honor and with a substantial grant from the Winthrop Rockefeller Charitable Trust, backed the creation of the center to undertake programs in the United States and in third world countries. William M. Dietel, the president of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and a leader in the merger effort, said that the center's staff had found that, to be effective in helping developing countries with livestock problems, livestock had to be integrated into the overall farming system. He said it would be an advantage for

Winrock to draw on the expertise and widely dispersed overseas staffs of the other organizations.

The primary aim of IADS, which was established by the Rockefeller Foundation, was to help developing countries build up their agricultural research systems. IADS negotiated grants and contracts with national governments and international aid organizations; at the time of the merger, it was working in 17 countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Although it got contract funds, IADS had had difficulty getting private funds, and it was attracted to the idea of merger by the prospects of obtaining discretionary funds and having greater independence. With unrestricted income, IADS would be able to expand its work in analysis, conferences, and publications.

The council's representatives reported to the board the three organizations' agreement that the new, merged organization must be visionary in its approach to international development, must have a first-rate staff, must have as a key element the development of human resources, and must strive to build a program that would surpass the combined efforts of the merging partners. The task before the parties was to see if consensus could be reached on general principles and on an overall program prospectus to be used in seeking funds for the new organization.

Perhaps the most important question for A/D/C's trustees at this stage was whether the proposed organization could continue to do what the council did best. Did the council risk losing its identity and its style of operation? Did it risk losing continuity in its more important country programs?

December 31, 1983, was set as the date by which action for or against the merger had to be taken. Between June and December of that year, additional meetings were held as the merging partners defined and redefined their interests; and the discussions gradually shifted from "why it won't work" to "why it can and will work."

It was agreed, for example, that the majority of members of the new board of directors would come from the center's board; the headquarters of the new organization would be located at Petit Jean Mountain; and A/D/C's commitments to contracts, donors, fellowships, and grantees would be honored (A/D/C, 1983).

In December 1983, the council's trustees met to decide about the merger. Falcon summarized the options open to them: 1) close the council and gradually phase out its activities; 2) continue as an independent organization; 3) join the merger without specifying conditions; or 4) vote to merge with the understanding that certain concerns would be considered:

- The search for a new chief executive should be open and objective.
- A/D/C should be represented on the executive and program committees.

- A total of $50 million should be in earning reserves.
- A minimum of unrestricted funds should be available for A/D/C-type activities.

A lively discussion centered on ways in which the style and program emphasis of the council could be maintained in the new organization. During the discussion, despite differences of opinion among trustees, there was no support for closing the council or merging without conditions. Maintaining the council's independent status was not seen as a realistic alternative; therefore, the trustees voted unanimously for the fourth alternative and named five of their group (Castle, Falcon, Hardin, Lucas, and Smith) and two alternates (Howard A. Steppler and Timmer) to carry on the discussions with the center and IADS on working out final terms and arrangements for the merger.

The year 1984 was a time of transition. The council continued its programs in Asia while strengthening and expanding work in Africa. In addition to the ongoing training and research at CIRES in Côte d'Ivoire, it launched a new program in Kenya. Nygaard reported to the trustees in December that a proposed set of A/D/C activities at the University of Nairobi would include offering a master's-level program in agricultural economics, developing research networks in Kenya, granting domestic and foreign fellowships, producing teaching materials, and placing an associate or visiting professor in the university's department of agricultural economics. Financial support for this program was assumed by the Ford Foundation with additional support by USAID.

By late 1984 the merger was under way, and on November 25 and 26 the board of directors of the Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development held its first meeting, with former A/D/C board members Castle, Falcon, Hardin, and Lucas in attendance.

During the first half of 1985 the council's staff took care of an array of program, legal, and financial affairs leading up to the final meeting of the trustees on June 13 and the closing of A/D/C's New York office in August.

Nygaard was appointed director of the Human Resource Development Division of the new institute, the division where many of the former A/D/C activities would be lodged. By fall, Nygaard had relocated to Arkansas to take up his new duties while Smith and other members of the New York staff terminated their service. Most of the A/D/C professional staff members in the field remained at their posts as staff of the new organization.

REFERENCES

Agricultural Development Council (A/D/C). 1983. Minutes of a meeting of the board of trustees, December 14-15. New York.

Mellor, John W., G. E. Schuh, M. Mangahas, and R. Jahan. April 17, 1981. A report to possible donors in support of the Agricultural Development Council. A/D/C, New York (mimeo).

Smith, Theodore M. 1980. Moving A/D/C into the 1980s. A/D/C, New York (mimeo). pp. 8-9.

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TRUSTEES AND STAFF

ALLEE, RALPH H. 1960-1970. M.S., education. Associate, 1960-1970: Indonesia, 1960-1964; Philippines, 1965-1970.

ALLRED, WELLS M. 1959-1961. Ph.D., rural government. Visiting professor, Philippines.

AMODEO, ROSEMARY. 1973-1979. Secretary, research and training network.

ARNOLD, SUZANNE DAY. 1957-1959. Secretary.

BAPTISTE, MARGARETTE. 1981-1984. Assistant to the accountant.

BARNETT, MILTON L. 1962-1973. Ph.D., anthropology. Associate, 1962-1973: Philippines, 1962-1965; Malaysia, 1966-1973. Also Laos, Thailand. Member, publications committee, 1974-1978.

BATESON, WILLIAM M. 1975-1978. Ph.D., economics. Short-term specialist, 1975-1976; associate, 1976-1978, Nepal.

BEERS, HOWARD W. 1959-1966. Ph.D., rural sociology. Associate, Indonesia.

BEHAR, JEAN. 1979-1985. Administrative secretary.

BELL, DAVID E. 1981-1985. Trustee. Director, Center for Population Studies, Harvard University.

BINSWANGER, HANS P. 1973-1980. Ph.D., economics. Associate, 1974-1980, India.

BISH, JAMES H. 1977-1985. Trustee: member, finance committee, 1977-1985; chairman, audit and finance committee, 1978-1985; member, executive committee, 1979-1985. Senior vice president, Chase Manhattan Bank.

BLANCH, GRANT E. 1955-1957. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Thailand.

BOND, MAURICE C. 1962-1963. Ph.D., rural sociology. Visiting professor, Philippines.

BOOZ, PATRICK R. 1981-1983. Program assistant.

BORTON, RAYMOND E. 1964-1967 and 1970-1974. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Specialist, training materials, 1964-1967. Associate, 1970-1974, Philippines.

BRADY, NYLE C. 1973-1978. Trustee. Director, International Rice Research Institute.

BROWN, DAVID W. 1958-1959. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Singapore.

BUCK, J. LOSSING. 1954-1957 and 1958-1959. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Director for agricultural economics, 1954-1957. Research associate, 1958-1959.

BURGER, VEIT. 1977-1982. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Specialist, Nepal.

CALKINS, PETER H. 1982-1983. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, China.

CASTLE, EMERY N. 1980-1985. Trustee, 1980-1985: vice chairman of the board, 1984-1985; member, executive committee, 1980-1985. President, Resources for the Future.

CHACONA, SAPFO. 1963-1968. Accountant.

CLAY, EDWARD J. 1975-1979. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Associate, Bangladesh.

COFFEE, ELAINE. 1964-1968. Secretary.

COLLIER, WILLIAM L. 1968-1982. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Participating consultant, Agro-Economic Survey, 1968-1974, Indonesia. Associate, 1974-1982, Indonesia.

All trustees' affiliations are as of time of appointment to A/D/C's board.

CONNORS, VIRGINIA. 1966-1979. Secretary, fellowship program.

COOL, JOHN C. 1982-1985. Ph.D., anthropology. Associate, Nepal.

COWARD, WALTER. Member, fellowship committee. Cornell University.

DAVIS, GEORGE B. 1962. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Thailand.

DENNISON, CHARLES E. 1969-1973. Trustee, 1969-1973; member, finance committee, 1970-1973. Vice president, International Minerals and Chemicals Corporation.

DICKERSON, RUSSELL B. 1964-1965. Ph.D., education. Fellowship officer.

DILLARD, JAMES M. 1980-1984. M.A., audiology. Administrative officer, secretary-treasurer.

DUEWEL, JOHN. 1972-1975. Ph.D., rural sociology. Participating consultant, Supplementary Program in the Rural Social Sciences, Indonesia.

DYCHE, WANPEN. 1984-1985. Assistant fellowship officer, Asia office.

EFFERSON, J. NORMAN. 1953-1985. Trustee, 1953-1985; member, fellowship committee, 1953-1980. Dean, College of Agriculture, Louisiana State University.

ELLIOTT, LLOYD W. 1953-1966. Trustee. Vice president, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

EPSTEIN, T. SCARLETT. 1975-1983. Trustee. Professor, School of African and Asian Studies, Sussex University.

ERSHUN, VICTORIA. 1963. Secretary.

EVENSON, ROBERT E. 1974-1977. Ph.D., economics. Associate, Philippines.

FALCON, WALTER P. 1971-1985. Trustee, 1971-1985; member, fellowship committee, 1975-1980; chairman of the board, 1979-1983; member, executive committee, 1979-1985. Deputy director, Development Advisory Services, Harvard University.

FISHER, RAYMOND G. 1953-1965. Member, finance committee.

FLIEGEL, FREDERICK H. 1974-1977. Member, fellowship committee. Professor of rural sociology, University of Illinois.

FORT, RAYMOND E. 1960-1961. Ph.D., rural sociology. Specialist, Indonesia.

FOX, JEFFERSON M. 1984-1985. Ph.D., development studies. Specialist, Indonesia.

FOX, ROBERT B. 1958-1959. Ph.D., anthropology. Research specialist, Philippines.

FREMLIN, CAROL B. 1957-1959. Secretary.

GARCIA, IVONNE. 1975-1982. Publication secretary.

GEORGIO, HELEN. 1967-1970. Secretary, American universities research program.

GERSTL, JUDITH COHEN. 1960-1963. Publication secretary.

GILL, GERARD J. 1980-1985. Ph.D., economics. Associate, Bangladesh.

GITTINGER, J. PRICE. 1961-1965. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Associate, 1961-1965, Indonesia. Member, publications committee, 1974-1976.

GLASSBURNER, BRUCE. 1984-1985. Ph.D., economics. Associate, Indonesia.

GOODWIN, NEVA ROCKEFELLER. 1981-1985. Trustee.

GOTTSCHANG, THOMAS R. 1984-1985. Ph.D., economics. Specialist, China.

GREEN, DONALD G. 1963-1965. Ph.D., extension education. Specialist, training materials.

GWEE, GLADYS. Secretary, Singapore office.

HARDIN, LOWELL S. 1964-1966 and 1982-1985. Trustee; chairman of the board, 1984-1985. Head, Department of Agricultural Economics, Purdue University.

HARRIS, JANE. 1975-1978. Fellowship officer, Asia office.

HEMMI, KENZO. 1977-1983. Trustee; member, seminars, research, and publications committee, 1981-1983. Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, Tokyo University.

All trustees' affiliations are as of time of appointment to A/ID/C's board.

HOLMES, HORACE C. 1963-1965. Specialist, agricultural development, training materials project.

HOUCK, JAMES P. 1974-1985. Member, fellowship committee, 1974-1980; trustee, 1980-1985. University of Minnesota.

HRABOVSZKY, JOHN P. 1963-1965. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, India.

KARPATHY, VICTORIA. 1975-1985. Accountant, 1975-1985; assistant treasurer, 1978-1985.

KEARL, BRYANT E. 1970-1974. Ph.D., political science and journalism. Director, Asia office, 1970-1974.

KELSEY, A. LINCOLN. 1956-1957. Ph.D., rural sociology. Visiting professor, Philippines.

KIN, TOON JIN. Secretary, Singapore office.

KLEIN, BARBARA. 1963-1966. Secretary.

KRAMER, MARGUERITE H. 1953-1966. Assistant treasurer, accountant.

KRISHNA, RAJ. 1981-1983. Trustee. Professor, Delhi School of Economics, India.

KRUEGER, ANNE O. 1981-1985. Trustee. Professor, Department of Economics, University of Minnesota.

KWOK, JEAN. Receptionist.

LAMONTAGNE, RAYMOND A. 1964-1967. Corporate secretary.

LAMPE, HARLAN C. 1975. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Research consultant, Singapore.

LANGHAM, MAX R. 1975-1977. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Research coordinator, Asia office, 1975-1977, Singapore; associate, 1977, Philippines.

LARSON, ANN M. 1962-1985. Secretary, 1962-1973; secretary to the president, 1973-1979; administrative assistant, 1979-1985; corporate secretary, 1985.

LEWIS, ARDRON B. 1956-1968. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Associate director for agricultural economics, 1956-1960; assistant corporate secretary, 1957-1964; associate, 1960-1968 (Taiwan, 1965-1967).

LEWIS, JOHN P. 1974-1978. Trustee: member, fellowship committee, 1974-1978. Professor, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.

LIN, GOH YOUNG. Singapore office.

LIPSITZ, FLORENCE. 1964-1971. Publication secretary.

LOCKE, VIRGINIA OTIS. 1956-1966. Secretary, 1956-1958; administrative assistant, 1959-1964; program officer, 1964-1966; assistant corporate secretary, 1965-1966.

LOCKTON, JOHN D. 1953-1967. Member, finance committee.

LOCKWOOD, BRIAN A. 1977-1981. Ph.D., economics. Associate, Pakistan.

LOTTMAN, EILEEN. Library secretary.

LOUCKS, HAROLD H. 1953-1969. Trustee: member, fellowship committee. Director, China Medical Board.

LOW, JUDITH. Singapore office.

LUCAS, HERBERT L. 1983-1985. Trustee.

LUTZ, E. A. 1957-1958. Ph.D., rural sociology. Visiting professor, Philippines.

LUYKX, NICOLAS. 1971-1976. Trustee. Director, Food Institute, East-West Center, University of Hawaii.

MACMILLAN, WHITNEY. 1972-1980. Trustee: member, audit and finance committee, 1973-1980. Vice president, Cargill, Inc.

MALINGREAU, JEAN-PAUL. 1980-1985. Ph.D., ecology. Natural resource specialist, Indonesia.

All trustees' affiliations are as of time of appointment to A/D/C's board.

McCORMACK, ARTHUR F. 1953-1977. Assistant treasurer, 1953-1970; acting administrative officer, 1969-1970; treasurer, 1971-1977; member, finance committee, 1974-1977.

McCOY, GERARD L. 1963. Administrative officer.

McGINNIS, ADA M. 1968-1975. Accountant, 1968-1975; assistant treasurer, 1975.

McLEAN, DONALD H., Jr. 1953-1982. Corporate secretary, 1953-1964. Trustee, 1964-1982; member, audit and finance committee, 1971-1973; chairman of the board, 1973-1978; chairman, finance committee, 1973-1977. President, Lahey Clinic, Boston.

MELLOR, JOHN W. 1959-1960. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting fellow, India.

METZ, MAIDA. 1964-1970. Secretary.

MOSEMAN, ALBERT H. 1967-1974. Ph.D., plant breeding and genetics. Specialist, 1967-1968, Malaysia; associate, 1969-1974, Malaysia.

MOSHER, ARTHUR T. 1957-1976 and 1978-1979. Ph.D., economics. Executive director, 1957-1967; president, 1967-1973; trustee, 1967-1973, 1978-1979; vice president, 1973; associate, 1973-1976, Sri Lanka; interim president, 1978-1979.

MYERS, WILLIAM I. 1953-1976. Trustee, 1953-1970; trustee emeritus, 1971-1976; member, fellowship committee, 1953-1968; member, finance committee, 1969-1976. Dean, College of Agriculture, Cornell University.

NEILL, JOHN W. F. 1953-1962. Treasurer; member, finance committee.

NELSON, GERALD C. 1982-1985. Ph.D., economics. Specialist, Philippines.

NEWTON, CHARLES B. 1953-1972. Member, finance committee.

NYGAARD, DAVID F. 1983-1985. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Vice president.

OLIVEN, CONRAD. 1963-1965. M.A., agricultural journalism. Information officer, training materials project.

ONG, SHAO-ER. 1970-1982. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Associate, 1970-1981: Thailand, 1970-1977; Nepal, 1978-1981.

OSBORN, FREDERICK. 1953-1957. Trustee. President, Population Council.

OVERMAN, JANET. 1964-1968. Secretary, American universities research program.

OVERTON, DOUGLAS W. 1953-1967. Trustee. Executive director, The Japan Society.

PALTE, JOHANNES. 1975-1978. Visiting research specialist, 1975-1976, Indonesia; visiting professor, 1977-1978, Indonesia.

PANAYOTOU, THEODORE. 1983-1985. Ph.D., economics. Associate, Thailand.

PARKER, ELIZABETH CRAWFORD. 1955-1958. Secretary to the director.

PATTERSON, BARBARA ALLEN. 1964-1968. Editorial secretary.

PENNY, DAVID H. 1958-1962 and 1964-1965. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, 1958-1962 and 1964-1965, Indonesia; specialist, training materials, 1965.

PERRAULT, PAUL T. 1982-1985. Ph.D., economics. Visiting professor, Côte d'Ivoire.

PETERSON, ARTHUR W. 1960-1962. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Taiwan.

PLATH, C. V. 1957-1959. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Thailand.

POLSON, ROBERT A. 1956-1957. Ph.D., rural sociology. Visiting professor, Philippines.

PRAY, CARL E. 1978-1980. Ph.D., economics. Associate, Bangladesh.

PRICE, MARY ALICE. 1979-1984. Program assistant, research and training network, 1979-1980; assistant director, research and training network, 1981-1983; assistant development officer, 1984.

PROVINSE, JOHN H. 1958-1962. Ph.D., anthropology. Associate, Philippines.

All trustees' affiliations are as of time of appointment to A/D/C's board.

RAMABHUSHANAM, GAY HAMILTON. 1960-1965. Secretary, 1960-1961; fellowship secretary, 1962-1965.

RETZLAFF, RALPH H. 1974-1981. Ph.D., political science. Director, regional research and training program, Singapore and Thailand.

RIXHON, GERARD. 1978-1985. M.A., anthropology. Fellowship officer, Asia office, 1978-1980, Thailand; regional director, 1981-1985, Thailand.

ROCHE, FREDERICK C. 1983-1985. Ph.D., economics. Specialist, Indonesia.

ROCKEFELLER, JOHN D., 3RD. 1953-1978. President, 1953-1966; trustee, 1953-1978; chairman of the board, 1967-1973.

ROUMASSET, JAMES A. 1977-1979. Ph.D., economics. Associate, Philippines.

RUSSELL, M. B. 1967-1972. Trustee. Director, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Illinois.

RUTTAN, VERNON W. 1967-1977. Ph.D., economics. Trustee, 1967-1977; member, fellowship committee, 1968-1973; president, 1973-1977.

SARLE, CHARLES F. 1961-1962. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Taiwan.

SCANLON, JOHN J. 1953-1970. Chairman, finance committee, 1953-1970; trustee, 1964-1970; treasurer, 1963-1970. Vice president, American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

SCHICKELE, RAINER S. 1965-1970. Ph.D., comparative economic systems. Associate, 1965-1970; training materials project, 1965-1966; Sri Lanka, 1967-1970.

SCHUTJER, WAYNE A. 1971-1972. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Director, research and training network.

SEGALL, SHIRLEY. 1958-1959. Secretary.

SEWELL, WILLIAM H. 1963-1971. Trustee: member, fellowship committee, 1963-1970; member, finance committee, 1965-1969. Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin.

SHULMAN, KATHRYN. 1970-1972. Receptionist.

SIMON, FANNIE. 1961. Consulting librarian.

SITTON, GORDON R. 1959-1962. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Thailand.

SMITH, JANET. 1964-1968. Secretary.

SMITH, THEODORE M. 1979-1985. Ph.D., comparative administration. President, 1979-1985; trustee, 1979-1985: member, executive committee, 1979-1985.

SNODGRASS, MILTON M. 1964-1966. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting fellow, Thailand.

SOUTHWORTH, HERMAN M. 1964-1965 and 1966-1973. Specialist, training materials, 1964-1965; associate, 1966-1973, Korea.

STEPPLER, HOWARD A. 1976-1985. Trustee: member, executive committee, 1979-1985. Chairman, Department of Plant Science, McGill University, Canada.

STEVENS, ROBERT D. 1959-1961. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Vietnam.

STEVENSON, A. RUSSELL. 1964-1980. Administrative officer, 1964-1969 and 1970-1980; associate, 1969-1970, Thailand; assistant corporate secretary, 1966-1980; secretary, 1975-1976; secretary-treasurer, 1976-1980.

STIGBERG, BETTY ANN. 1967-1971. Secretary, American universities research program.

STROUT, ALAN M. 1970-1974. Ph.D., economics. Associate, 1970-1974, Indonesia. Member, publications committee, 1974-1978.

SWENSON, C. GEOFFREY. 1973-1977. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Associate, Indonesia.

TALBOT, PHILLIPS. 1953-1961. Trustee. Executive director, American universities field staff.

All trustees' affiliations are as of time of appointment to A/D/C's board.

TAYLOR, DONALD C. 1968-1980. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, 1968-1969, India; associate, 1970-1980: India, 1970-1971; Indonesia, 1972-1973; Malaysia, 1974-1980.

TERSILLO, FRANCES. 1962-1968. Librarian.

THARRINGTON, ALBERTA. 1962-1967. Secretary to program officer.

TIMMER, C. PETER. 1981-1985. Trustee. Professor of agriculture and business, Harvard Business School.

TOMASEK, VIRGINIA. 1975. Visiting research specialist, Indonesia.

TONGUE, GRACE. 1966-1980. Fellowship secretary, 1966-1975; fellowship officer, 1975-1980.

TORTORELLA, JO ANNE LOGAN. 1971-1978. Assistant accountant.

TRAVERS, S. LEE. 1980-1982. Ph.D., agricultural and resource economics. Research scholar, China.

TULALAMBA, KHUN VANIDA. 1979-1985. Administrative officer, Asia office, Thailand.

VASQUEZ, DAISY. 1976-1978. Secretary.

VON ANCKEN, EVA. 1964-1967. Secretary.

VON OPPENFELD, HORST. 1955-1962. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Philippines.

WAGNER, MELVIN W. 1963-1968. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Thailand.

WALKER, THOMAS C. 1980-1985. Ph.D., economics. Associate, India.

WALLACE, MICHAEL B. 1982-1985. Ph.D., public policy. Specialist, Nepal.

WARD, EDWARD H. 1968-1970. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Indonesia.

WAXLER, NANCY E. 1976-1978. Ph.D., social psychology. Specialist, Sri Lanka.

WEAVER, THOMAS F. 1967-1971. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Visiting professor, Malaysia.

WEISBLAT, ABRAHAM M. 1958-1983. Ph.D., agricultural economics. Executive associate, 1958-1959; associate, 1959-1972, Philippines (1963-1965, 1969), India (1969-1972); director, research and training network, 1972-1983.

WHARTON, CLIFTON R., JR. 1957-1970. Ph.D., economics. Executive associate, 1957; associate, 1958-1964, Singapore (1958-1960), Malaysia (1960-1964); director, American universities research program, 1964-1966; acting executive director, 1966-1967; vice president, 1967-1970; trustee, 1973-1980. President, Michigan State University.

WHITE, BENJAMIN N. F. 1975-1980. Ph.D., anthropology. Participating consultant, Agro-Economic Survey, Indonesia.

WHITE, GILBERT F. 1967-1973. Trustee: member, fellowship committee. Professor of Geography, University of Chicago.

WISNER, HELEN. Receptionist.

WOOD, DIARMUID EVELYN. 1964-1966. Consultant, training materials.

YOUNG, ERNEST C. 1963-1964. Consultant, training materials program.

YURKO, CAROLYN CONNOR. 1959-1960. Secretary.

All trustees' affiliations are as of time of appointment to A/D/C's board.

A/D/C FELLOWS

The following is a list of all Agricultural Development Council fellows. A/D/C fellowships were awarded from 1953 to 1985 in three categories: degree, nondegree, and travel.

Individuals are listed alphabetically by country. Beside each name are listed the field of study, the host institution, the degree earned (if any), and the years under A/D/C support. Degrees earned under other auspices, where known, are noted in parentheses.

BANGLADESH

ABDUL-HAKIM, MOHAMMED. M.S., agricultural economics, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1972-1976.

ABDUL-HALIM. Ph.D., agricultural extension, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1972-1976.

ABDUL-MOMEN, MOHAMMED. M.S., agricultural economics, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1977-1979.

ABDUL-QUAYUM, MOHAMMED. M.S., economics, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1980-1982.

ABU-MOHAMMAD, SHAPAN ADNAN. Ph.D., agricultural economics, Churchill College, University of Cambridge, 1979-1984.

AFSAR, RITA. M.A., sociology, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1983-1985.

AHMED, A. K. M. MAHFUZUDDIN. M.S., resource economics, University of Agriculture Malaysia, Serdang, 1983-1985. Ph.D. candidate, fisheries economics, Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, Serdang, 1985-.

AKBAR, MOHAMMED ALI. M.B.M., business management, Asian Institute of Management, Manila, 1980-1982.

AKHTER, ROUSHAN. M.S., applied sociology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1982-1984.

ALAM, SALAUDDIN MOHAMMED NURAL. Ph.D., social anthropology, Purdue University, 1978-1983.

ALAM, SHAMSUL. M.A., economics, Thammasat University, Bangkok, 1981-1983.

ALI, MOHAMMED MOHSIN. M.A., economics, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1977-1979.

AMINUZZAMAN, SALAHUDDIN M. M.P.A., public administration, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1980-1982.

ARIF, MOHAMMED ANWARUL AZIM. M.B.A., business administration, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1980-1982.

BEGUM, NAJMIR NUR. M.Phil., social work, Massey University, New Zealand, 1984-1986.

DEY, MADAN M. M.Sc., agricultural economics, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1985-1987.

FERDOUS, SK. ZAHRUL. M.S., agricultural education, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1978-1980.

HOQUE, MOHAMMED RAFIQUL. M.S., community development, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1979-1981.

HOSSAIN, MOHAMMED MAKBUL. M.S. candidate, forestry economics, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1984-1986.

HOSSAIN, ZAKIR. M.A., anthropology, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1978-1980.

HUQUE, MOHAMMED MAHFUZUL. M.S., development communications, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1979-1982. (Ph.D., Araneta Foundation University, Caloocan City, Philippines, 1982-1986.)

HUSSAIN, NASEEM A. M.S. candidate, sociology, University of New South Wales, 1985-1986.

IMAN, MOHAMMED HASAN. M.S. candidate, rural sociology, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1984-1986.

ISLAM, MOHAMMED MONIRUL. M.S., community development, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1978-1981. Ph.D., University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1981-1984.

ISLAM, SHAMSUL. Ph.D., agricultural economics, Wye College, University of London, 1959-1962.

JAFORULLAH, MOHAMMED. M.Ec., agricultural economics, University of New England, Armidale, 1983-1985.

JAHAN, ISHRAT. M.S., agricultural economics, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1985-1987.

KARIM, A. M. ANWARUL. Ph.D., community development, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1972-1976.

KARIM, KAZI B. M.S. candidate, rural sociology, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1985-1987.

KARIM, MOHAMMED REZAUL. M.S., community development, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1981-1983.

KHALEQUE, T. M. KIBRIAUL. M.A., anthropology, Australian National University, 1978-1980.

MIYAN, MOHAMMED ABDUL-HALIM. M.S., community development, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1977-1979.

NAG, NITAI C. M.A., economics, University of the Philippines at Diliman, 1984-1986.

NISA, MEHERUN. M.A. candidate, geography, Australian National University, 1984-1986.

NOOR, ABDUN. M.Ec., public administration, University of Malaya, 1981-1984.

RAHMAN, A. H. M. MUSTAFIZUR. M.S. candidate, rural sociology, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1985-1987.

RAHMAN, MOHAMMED HABIBUR. M.S., anthropology, National University of Singapore, 1983-1985.

RAHMAN, MOHAMMED MAHBUBUR. M.Phil., social work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, 1978-1980. (Ph.D., Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 1980-1983.)

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APPENDIX D

FINANCES

Table 20. A/D/C annual income.

Year	JDR	RBF	FF	USAID	RF	GTZ
1952						
1953						
1954	500,000					
1955	500,000					
1956	500,000	300,000				
1957	500,000	300,000				
1958	500,000	300,000				
1959	500,000	300,000	10,000			
1960	500,000	300,000				
1961	250,000	300,000				
1962	250,000	300,000				
1963	350,000	300,000	1,800,000			
1964	101,176	300,000	125,000			
1965	350,000	300,000				
1966	349,700	300,000	570,000			
1967	454,005	300,000				
1968	354,656	300,000	65,000			
1969		300,000	32,500			
1970	707,447	300,000	47,500	24,840		
1971	353,894	300,000	72,500	133,137		
1972	290,592	300,000	337,500	206,301		
1973	411,493	200,000	320,500	300,227		
1974	352,474	100,000	467,000	406,582	15,000	
1975	352,474	100,000	320,500	419,823		
1976	353,039	100,000	305,870	474,554		
1977	354,554	75,000	296,126	635,686		
1978	203,157	75,000	332,205	629,458		
1979	100,000		368,898	512,998		
1980	50,344		283,793	651,198		
1981			389,154	779,621	35,000	
1982		25,000	658,400	562,076	155,500	
1983		25,000	619,971	367,746	140,000	80,000
1984		25,000	870,777	441,898	16,000	199,680
1985			695,064	219,005		103,151
Total	9,489,005	5,825,000	8,988,256	6,765,150	361,500	382,831

JDR = John D. Rockefeller 3rd
RBF = Rockefeller Brothers Fund
FF = Ford Foundation
USAID = U.S. Agency for International Development

ADAB	IDRC	Other	Total	Revenue	Support plus revenue	Income adjusted to 1985 dollars
			500,000		500,000	2,001,242
			500,000	94,000	594,000	2,386,369
			800,000		800,000	3,166,585
			800,000	81,000	881,000	3,367,238
			800,000	96,000	896,000	3,333,617
			810,000	104,359	914,359	3,374,645
			800,000	96,000	896,000	3,254,692
			550,000	200,000	750,000	2,696,987
			550,000	262,000	812,000	2,887,709
			2,450,000	1,256,000	3,706,000	13,021,518
			526,176	153,000	679,176	2,355,549
			650,000	980,000	1,630,000	5,557,524
			1,219,700	209,000	1,428,700	4,735,876
			754,005	260,000	1,014,005	3,267,124
			719,656	239,000	958,656	2,964,289
			332,500	224,000	556,500	1,633,008
			1,079,787	11,380	1,091,167	3,022,992
			859,531	86,000	1,045,531	2,777,165
	100,345		1,234,738	166,000	1,400,738	3,601,898
	156,421		1,388,641	295,000	1,683,641	4,075,651
	230,959		1,571,965	141,002	1,712,967	3,736,750
	233,400		1,426,197	(253,058)	1,173,139	2,344,822
	344,400		1,577,863	328,146	1,906,009	3,601,854
	389,838	20,000	1,771,204	259,483	2,030,687	3,604,589
113,250	276,450		1,629,520	906,807	2,136,327	3,522,644
111,000	260,318	60,000	1,413,214	595,931	2,089,145	2,977,675
164,100	259,021	50,000	1,458,456	434,674	1,893,130	2,471,501
192,097	291,890	11,798	1,699,560	267,386	1,966,946	2,326,542
284,371	320,552	129,713	2,135,612	256,308	2,391,920	2,665,779
299,357	59,927	135,959	1,727,960	244,697	1,972,657	2,129,994
245,575	14,391	156,931	1,970,252	210,088	2,180,340	2,258,134
235,950	4,700	64,413	1,322,283	107,758	1,430,041	1,430,041
1,645,700	2,942,562	628,814	37,028,820	8,011,961	45,040,781	106,552,302

RF = Rockefeller Foundation
GTZ = German Agency for Technical Cooperation
ADAB = Australian Development Assistance Bureau
IDRC = International Development Research Centre

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Table 21. A/D/C annual expenses.

Year	Administration	Non-fellowship	Fellowship	Direct	Total	Expenses adjusted to 1985 dollars
1952						
1953						
1954						
1955						
1956	71,200	268,800	110,000		450,000	1,781,204
1957	87,300	337,700	121,000		546,000	2,086,847
1958	103,388	248,099	88,693		440,180	1,637,714
1959	124,738			684,885	809,623	2,988,093
1960	159,742	407,534	144,532		711,808	2,585,620
1961	107,660	388,938	167,647		664,245	2,388,613
1962	134,112	512,160	199,516		845,788	3,007,869
1963	198,567			1,199,248	1,397,815	4,911,407
1964	224,079	963,811	225,182		1,413,072	4,900,880
1965	229,399	924,527	303,665		1,457,591	4,969,691
1966	236,310			1,117,042	1,353,352	4,486,111
1967	269,525			1,299,388	1,568,913	5,055,038
1968	264,782			839,755	1,104,537	3,415,373
1969	258,982	575,505	307,100		1,141,587	3,349,903
1970	275,843	753,656	290,347		1,319,846	3,656,530
1971	290,057	798,091	213,000		1,301,148	3,456,141
1972	299,879	939,744	299,000		1,538,623	3,956,459
1973	380,612	980,207	296,500		1,657,319	4,011,932
1974	94,889	1,432,388	309,766		1,837,043	4,007,415
1975	105,957	1,725,214	264,699		2,095,870	4,189,140
1976	110,702	1,776,371	286,391		2,173,464	4,107,273
1977	135,356	2,045,940	279,336		2,460,632	4,368,130
1978	111,578	1,919,557	148,907		2,180,042	3,594,726
1979	101,766	1,684,484	181,521		1,967,771	2,916,356
1980	651,280	1,333,547	123,929		2,108,756	2,753,003
1981	557,181	1,323,260	516,200		2,396,641	2,834,793
1982	557,072	1,259,698	418,969		2,235,739	2,491,716
1983	667,023	1,142,640	428,274		2,237,937	2,416,432
1984	662,530	1,226,333	470,047		2,358,910	2,443,076
1985	345,344	766,589	263,490		1,375,423	1,375,423
TOTAL					45,149,675	100,142,989

Source: CECA and A/D/C annual reports.